

THE
Sage Senator

DELINEATED:

OR, A

DISCOURSE

OF

The Qualifications, Endowments,
Parts, external and internal,
Office, Duty and Dignity

OF A

PERFECT POLITICIAN.

WITH

A Discourse of KINGDOMS,
Republiques, & States-Popular.

As Also,

Of KINGS and PRINCES:

To which is annexed,

The New Models of Modern Policy.

By J. G. Gent.

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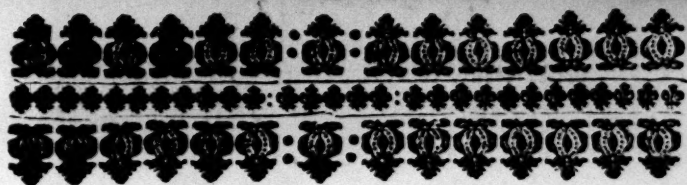
Sage Senator

DISCOURSE

LECTURE POSITION

A DISCOURSE OF KINGDOMS

OF THE WORLD



To the Reader.



Here are few or none (I presume) even among the Vulgar, but understand that Republique or Kingdom to be most happy, that lives most peaceably : Yet what

doth most conduce to the Welfare and Felicity of King and People, hath been long debated by the Ancient as well as Modern Philosophers, and Politicians.

Some are of opinion, that good Laws work and frame the people to a civil life ; others think it lies in the power of good Education : some imagine that it proceeds from the Influence and Operation of the Stars upon sublunary Bodies ; and others, from the Endeavors and Examples of good Kings. To the last, we subscribe : for the peace and tranquillity of a Nation proceeds primarily from the splendor of Princely Vertues ; which are so glorious and attra-

To the Reader.

ctive, that they do not onely incite the Subject to gaze on them, but with an extasied admiration, to adore and affect them, so that they are stimulated to an imitation, as far as in them lies : and when Prince and People mutually labour in the pursuit of Vertue (*pro viribus*, as we say) according to the utmost extent of their ability, how can there chuse but be a result of Unanimity, Peace and Concord? To perfect this, 'tis requisite that a Senate be elected ; which is a certain number of grave, wise, discreet Persons, that may help their Sovereign to pull in or slacken the reins of Government, according as 'tis judg'd convenient ; by the Nobility of whose Persons, and the Prudence of whose Consultations, married to the Judgement of the King, the quiet and glory of the People is infinitely promoted and preserved. To which intent and purpose, we have here deciphered *A SAGE SENATOR*, with all qualifications tending to his Perfection ; his Office, Duty, Honour, Preferment and Repute among the Ancients, as well as those of latter Ages ; first asserting, and then proving their necessity, and the benefit that accrews to a Kingdom or Republike from their grave and serious Debates in Counsel, and their

To the Reader.

their industrious management of political Affairs. By such Union between King and Council, Prince and People; the whole Nation will undoubtedly flourish with a perpetual Verdure, as if an immortal peace were entail'd upon them and their posterity for ever; Laws will have their full force and efficacie, as well for the punishment of Malefactors, as the Reward of honourable deserving Persons: Justice will run in its proper current, and not be diverted to sinister and base ends, by lucre or self-interest; two Hammers that are able to knock a Kingdom in pieces. Learning will be advanced, and the Learned promoted according to their merit and desert: without this, no Kingdom can stand; take away the Pen, and the Pike will be unnecessary. 'Twas the Saying of a potent Monarch, That, *He received more benefit from his dead, then living Counsellours*; intimating thereby, that his Library did afford him better Counsel then his Senate. Learning and Senators, like *Hippocrates* his Twins, are inseparable; they cannot dwell asunder; especially in such a one as is here described. And though I am sufficiently sensible, that a discourse of those Qualities that are required in a Perfect Politician, is, not onely

To the Reader.

a work of great Importance , but attended by a Troop of opposing Difficulties : Yet I have endeavored to display the Ancient Government of the most famous Kingdoms, Republics and States Popular, according to the Statutes, Laws and Customs of the most potent, as well as prudent Monarchs. And my hope is, (though my imbecility can lay no claim to merit) that my earnest desire to promote the publick good, will plead my excuse ; and I am confident, there is no person that is unprejudiced, if commonly courteous, but will accept of my humble Devours ; which is the very highth of the Authors Desires ; who at this present hath no more to say, but bid thee, Reader,

Farewel,

J. G.

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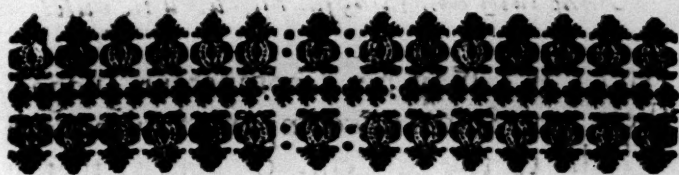
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THE



THE
Sage Senator.

Book I.

CHAP. I.

Of Senators in General, their Original and Necessity.



HE that sweateth in the pursuit of those studies that conduce to private recreation, as well as publike emolument, personates and represents a grave wise man ; and merits the general applause of all persons : For,

C

Omne

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,

And (if I may be a competent Judge) there is no Science accompanied with more delight to the Student, or benefit to the Commonwealth into which he is incorporated, than that of Government: wherefore being sufficiently convinced, that all the transactions of a well-regulated State are managed by solid reason, mature deliberation, and sound judgement, not by wavering opinion, uncertain fate, or fantastique fortune; I have made the original of Senators, their duty, dignity, internal and external qualifications, the Theme on which I intend to expatiate in general in this first Book: But more particularly in this Chapter, of the original cause of their institution or creation. For the performance of that task which I have voluntarily imposed upon my self, I have dived into the depth of civil knowledge, and pried into the *Arcana* of Philosophy; collecting whatsoever hath been related, penned, or experimentally known heretofore, either by Academick Learning, Parliaments in Commonweals, Policy in Government, or History.

But

But to begin : Man, the perfection of the Creation, was not made a Citizen or Inhabitant of this World only, but Lord Paramount over all Creatures that have a being within the compass of the terrestrial Globe : This authority and dignity was conferred upon him by the supreme Governour of Heaven and earth, who hath descended so far below his sacred Self, as to make him his Co-partner in Government, adorning him with divine understanding ; to the intent, that the Scepter of this terrene Empire may be swayed by his Reason and Counsel. The cause of this union of Government between God and Man, proceeds from Reason ; which being perfect, makes Man capable of imitating Almightyness ; so that it appears, there is a kind of near alliance or consanguinity between the Creator and the Creature, who sometimes is made God's Vicegerent upon earth : yet without divine assistance, no reason or counsel can be termed good, or perfect : For, the seed of this glimmering resemblance of a Deity planted in Man, if it light on fertile ground, and that happen to meet with good culture, produceth a crop according to the expectation of the Cœlestial Planter ; otherwise, it is like corn

cast into a barren soyl; whose product is nothing but brambles, thorns, or thistles. Thus then Man being reduced to a sense or feeling of those sparks of divinity that lie latent in him, should be wrought to a persuasion, that he hath the Character or *Idea* of a Deity in his mind; the impression of the Creator's holy Image stamped on his soul; and ought thereupon to be so industrious in the employment of his talent, and the management of his affairs, that his actions may speak him worthy, in some sense, of so heavenly a favour bestowed on him. Yet, though he be made God's associate (as it were) he must return him the glory, to whom it properly and primarily belongs; and acknowledge all authority to flow from him, as from the Fountain: For, as brute Animals are not governed by Animals, but by an Herdsman; no more can Man rule or govern Man, without the assistance and protection of Providence divine. And should any man be so sordidly ignorant, or atheistically prophane, as to undertake the Government of any Country or Nation, without divine knowledge or assistance; it must necessarily follow, that that State, Commonwealth, or Kingdom, and every Member thereof,

thereof, be implunged into an Ocean of misery and infelicity: For, it is in vain to build upon the imagined welfare of a State, or Kingdom, if God be not the Protector and Patron thereof. It is then as conspicuous as the Meridian Sun, that all vertue, wisdom and goodness owes its original to God; which did instigate the purblind, or rather pure-blind Heathen, that had only the rush-candle of Nature, to consecrate publike Temples, to Vertue, Faith, Concord, Wisdom, Peace, &c. And if *Ovid* the Ethnick durst be so bold, well may we then *a fortiori* affirm, and maintain,

*Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo;
Spiritus hic sacra lumina mentis habet.*

It is therefore our duty to endeavour the deserving a more noble title than that of meer Man, and strenuously to labour in the pursuit of Understanding, that flies a higher pitch, than either humanity or morality dare aspire unto; that so, if possible, we may surpass all our Ancestors, and live according to the dictates of that which hath the greatest supremacy in us, *viz.* Reason; by vertue whereof, we are made sensible

of a Deity, know how to exercise Vertue, embrace that which is good, and avoid what is evill : this is that which endows a man with the qualifications of Wisdom, Valour, and Justice ; by this we are able to discern, that the terrestrial Globe is wheel'd about by divine wisdom ; it is this that makes a man Noble, a *Hero* : which was the reason that the Lacedæmonians imposed the title of Gods upon those persons, that were judg'd to move in the highest sphere of understanding ; *homines de meliore luto* ; men of a more noble allay, than dull mud-wall'd man can boast of : Nay, *Homer* deifies *Hector* in this ensuing Distich :

*Non hominis certe mortalis filius ille
Esse videtur, sed divino semine natus.*

So that we may maintain (without being Paradoxical) that that man, who is guided by solid reason in all his words and actions, is *quasi semi-deus inter mortales* ; a Demi-god among men.

Now, of such repute is a Sage Senaror, or grave Counsellor ; who hath reason for his Cynosure, and wisdom his coadjutress in all undertakings. Such persons are so
necessa-

necessary in a Commonwealth, that they can by no means be omitted or left out: For, the King being but a single person, cannot have an eye unto all the transactions of his Kingdom; besides, sometimes it happens, that he is seduced from the conduct of reason, by yeilding to his affections, or slackning the reins of his appetite and licentiousness; and the rude multitude, being ignorant, is altogether incapable of that understanding, or knowledge. Yet the Senate, elected according to the Law of the Land, and compacted or made up of vertuous, sober, grave, discreet persons, do from their place, as from a *Pharos*, or Watch-tower, look about them, and provide all things requisite for the discreet and well regulating of the State wherem they live; preventing all mutinies, seditions and dissentions that the rebellious rabble durst any waies attempt: Of such great use and necessity are they, and that not only to the King, but the people also; like unto the vital part of mans soul, which residing in the heart, enliveneth and quickens that which partakes of Reason, and is situated in the head: and a Monarch that is guided by the advice and counsel of a grave Senate, rules his Kingdom prudently,

ly, and governs it discreetly. For, as reason in all her proceedings, makes use of the service of the senses; yet she alone determines, and deserves the greatest honour and esteem: so a Prince, though he admit of Counsel, is to be judged the wisest; and is uncontrollable in all his actions: for it is a Maxim among us, that *The King can do no wrong*. And as the hand distinguished into fingers is thereby strengthened, and made the more apt to lay hold on any thing; so he that governeth with the aid and assistance of Counsel, shall manage all affairs with the greater consideration and prudence. Their original did proceed from the benefit that it was imagined would accrue to the Commonwealth, whereof they were members, by their counsel: And although they, that first assembled men into Cities, who before like Savages, ranged over the woods, and inhabited the desarts dispersedly, without either Law or Order, first gained the Title of Kings; yet that course alone could not make them understand the dutiful Allegiance they owed unto their Sovereign: wherefore perceiving, that when they were civilized, and reduced from their brutality, the authority of a single Person was not of sufficiency to curb
and

and check them in the full career of their exorbitancies, they judged it convenient to have assistance from serious and grave Counsellors : which we find performed by *Romulus* the *Proto-basileus*, or first King of the Romans ; who supposing the Government of a single Person without a Senate to be perilous and unsafe , made a Convocation of 100 Senators, who out of respect to their gray heads, and grave understandings, obtained the name of *Patres*. *Theopompus* also, King of *Sparta*, trod the same path ; For, he constituted the *Ephori*, and invested them with eminent authority : whereat his wife being offended, was so pragmatical as to tell him, That he had derogated from his dignity, and clipt the wing of his ensuing Posterity, by diminishing their authority and supremacy : But he replied, like himself, That the Counsel and gravity of a Senate would fortifie his Kingdom, and be instead of a Bulwark against the implous machinations and plors of rebellious Subjects. Whereby it is apparent, that Monarchs first embraced Counsellors out of necessity : and all rational men are of opinion, that those State-transactions are most firm and solid, that are digested by the wisdom of a Parliament, ere they come to a publike

publike birth. Now, I call that a Parliament, or Senate, which by Royal Authority, and the general consent of the whole Nation, is freely elected, and constituted, to advise and govern the State; and consequently, a Senator, or Parliament-man, is one lawfully chosen into the number of those that are authorized to sit at the helm, and steer the Ship of State. And it hath ever been observed, that they were alwaies the most grave, discreet, and noble sort of Subjects; because there is no Society of Men, or Nation, how barbarous and brutish soever, but will voluntarily and cordially consent, that the Government should be imposed upon, and rest in those persons that are vertuous; and think it just and reasonable to obey them. Nor are there any so fit to govern, as the ancient, experienced, which are usually chosen; because others, either through want of maturity or experience, are usually withdrawn by their juvenile phancies, and recreations, from such serious places of authority: but a grave Counsellor is not disturbed or discomposed with extravagant affections, transported by appetite, or inveigled by youth; but by Reason directed, by Counsel fortified, and by Age made perfect. And further,

Philo-

Philosophers maintain, that in all things there are three degrees; Great, Small, and Indifferent: And that is judged the most perfect, that participates of either, and stands in an *Æquilibrium* between two; Now, the Senator standing as a mean or moderator between the King and People, the Monarch and his Subjects; may be the more intimately acquainted with the perfection of all things; and study what is the Office of a King, and the duty and Allegiance of a Subject; with the Rights, Properties, Liberties, and Laws appertaining to both; and so advise them accordingly; that the King may not turn tyrannical for want of Counsel, nor the people transcend the bounds of a moderate becoming liberty: Therefore he must of necessity be a man of excellent endowments, a clear intellect, and a piercing understanding, to dive into the intricacies of Government, *Scipio* saith, That as the end of Mariners, and their laborious endeavours, tends to a safe arrival into the intended Haven; the Physicians skill and art is employed for the recovering and preserving health in his distempered Patients; and the Captains valour levels at victory: So the happiness of Subjects, their glory, life, and liberty should

should be the *summa totalis*, or chiefest end that our Counsellor should aime at; all which he must labour to preserve, maintain and augment, by his industry and endeavour, to the utmost extent of his ability; and leave no stone unturned for the benefit of the Republick, of which he is a Member. Nor is it my design here in this Treatise to broach any new-fangled opinion, like those that are hatcht in the brains of our Phana-tick Regicides; or to phancie a *Chimera*, or make my brain the womb or *Idæa* of an Utopian Counsellor, that can only be imagined, and not found *in esse* (as *Plato* did in his Commonwealth, and *Cicero* in his Oration) but my discourse shall tend to, and end in a relation and description of such Persons as have liv'd heretofore, and *citra omnis controversia æleam*, may be hereafter. And as divine *Plato* compos'd, and reduced all those things into order, that might conduce to the felicity of his City, or Republick; the same course will we take in the Character of our Counsellor: wherefore perswade your self to be arriv'd at, or come to some famous *Emporium*, or *Piazza*; whereunto all persons, of all Nations, Countries and Cities repair; and we will disrobe every single person of some Vertue, Law, Custome,

Customs, or Qualification, that shall seem most advantageous and beneficial to our enterprize; and therewith make up our Sage Senator, Grave Counsellors, or Perfect Politician: that they, who for the future are invested with such eminent dignity and authority, may imitate our Senator, and endeavour to be adorned with these ensuing qualifications.

CHAP. II.

Of the diversity of Man's nature in general, and of the Parentage and Education of a Senator in particular.

THERE is nothing more clear, than that the Supreme Power, among many other gifts, hath conferr'd that of Reason upon Man, to the end that by vertue thereof, he may pry into the nature of Coelestial, as well as Terrestrial bodies; and thereby honour, reverence, and adore the Creator.

Now, he that is sensible of the gifts of God, and the benefits of Nature; and doth, both by contemplation and action, employ this supernatural gift, slowly Apes the Deity,
and

and thereby resembles him, as much as comes within the compass of mortality. But, they that contrary to Nature, and the end of their Creation, indulge their genius, delighting themselves in sensuality, neglecting, or totally deserting Reason; *Facite tantum homines sunt, non animo*: carry only the outward aspect or complexion of a Man; because they are destitute of his more noble endowments.

Hence ariseth the variety of mens natures and dispositions, or rather conditions: for, some are born Free, Noble, Wise, and with an aptitude to govern; others, Vassals, Rusticks, Ideots, predestinated to servitude and bondage: All Societies of men, being willing and ready to submit to the Government of the more grave and wise; promoting, and accumulating honours on them, and Offices, with reverence and respect suitable to their deserving gravity and understanding.

Plato is of opinion, that God in mans first Creation, did by his omniscience so order it, that in the generation of those that are destin'd and adapted to govern, he hath distill'd some drams of gold in their composition; and in them that are to assist Kings and Superiours by their deliberate coun-

counsel, and mature advice, silver ; but the Nature of Peasants and Mechanicks is tempered with Brass and Iron. Which similitude the Philosopher extends to the manners, nature, and capacitie of man.

For, although every man naturally desireth, that the issue of his loyns may resemble him ; yet sometimes, though seldom, it happens contrary to his expectation : for Gold sometimes produceth Silver, a more inferiour metal. Therefore it is requisite, that a Prince should be capable of understanding the natural disposition and inclination of his Royal Off-spring, that their Iron may be converted into the Gold of a more noble disposition : but, if neither good Education, Documents nor Precepts can operate upon their inclinations, so as to cause a Metamorphosis, or Transmutation, the Government must be transferr'd to those, whose wisdom renders them more capable. For, it hath been prognosticated, and the event hath been experimentally known to succeed according to the Prediction ; That they that are ruled by ignorant, mechanick Governours, come to ruine, destruction, and confusion. To prevent all which misfortunes, it is requisite, that our Counsellor be a natural Subject of that place or
Coun-

Country where he governeth; no foreigner: of the same Country, because that birth and being do not only oblige, but induce a man to believe, that it is honourable, just, and requisite for him to spend his blood in defence thereof, when occasion is offered: *Dulce & decorum est pro patria mori*; It is a sweet and comely thing to die for ones Country. And how can it be that any man, of what constitution soever, should not affect that place wherein his Parents, Neighbours, Friends, and Allies reside; and that Country to which he is indebted for his Life, Name, and Honour, and every thing else that is either for delight or necessity? *Non nobis enim nati sumus* (saith the Orator) *sed patriæ*; Our Country challengeth the greatest part of us. And it is most certain, that Nature hath so deeply rooted the affection to their native place in the mind of man, that never was any good Subject timorous, or unwilling to lay down his life, and hazard his fortunes in her defence, if necessity required. Nay, it hath been so prevalent, that the most impious and unnatural persons, that endeavoured the subversion of the place of their nativity, the very sight of their native soyl hath prevented their cruel enter-

enterprize. *Veturia* did dissuade her Son *Marcus* besieging *Rome*, only by reducing to his memory the love and respect he ought to bear to his natural Country; branding him with the name of impious and audacious, for being so highly ambitious, as to disturb the quiet of that City wherein he was begot and educated; altogether unmindful of his Wife, Children, and friends that remained there. So notable was the piety of *Veturia* to her Country, and no less was that of her Son in forgiving it; which had been somewhat ingrateful to him at that time, through the cruelty of the Tribunes persecuting the Nobility. *Sertorius* also entreated *Pompeius* and *Metellus* to endeavour the procurement of his revocation; alledging, that he took it for a greater piece of honour to have the name of an obscure Roman Citizen, than that of Emperour in any other place of the habitable World. Well then might *Naso* sing,

*Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctas
Ducit, & immemores non finit esse sui.*

The Obligation that devorēth and bindeth us to our Country, is great, upon this account;

count; because our goods, persons and fortunes are therein contained. *Pythagoras* (as it is reported by divine *Plato*). judged it a crime of as deep a dye, to be guilty of ingratitude to the place of ones nativity, as to ones own Mother, to whom we are indebted for being: Nor can there be an offence so hainous, but the affection to our native Country should allay and mitigate. Our Counsellor must be of natural birth: no Forreiner; because their counsel or advice is thought and accounted suspicious and dangerous; which was the reason that mov'd the *Athenians* not only to exclude strangers from their Council, but to drive them out of their Cities, lest they should aspire at the dignity of Magistracy, and instigate or work upon the minds of Citizens, so as to perswade them to Innovation; and so mutation of Laws, Customs and manners might ensue, and consequently Seditions and Rebellions. Which method the *Venetians* have diligently observed; for, it is their study and their whole industry, to prevent their sitting among them in Council, lest they intruding under a false name or title, should arrive to dignity and eminency in the Republick. Besides, it is requisite he be of the Nobility.

ty; begotten of honest Parents ; because honest parents produce honest children, for the most part. He must be of the number of noble and free Citizens, who assumes his title from that Nobility that owes its original to Vertue ; which he may partly challenge as his own, and partly as his Ancestors. They therefore that are nobilitated and adorned with their own peculiar vertues, as well as with those of their Predecessors, merit esteem, preferment, honour and fame, above all others, and are to be highly revered ; and the reason is, because that Vertuous and good Parents, have a generous, good, vertuous and noble Issue : according to the Lyrick Poet,

*Fortes fortibus creantur, & bonis,
Est in jumentis, est in equis Patrum
Virtus, nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquila columbam.*

Now (as Aristotle affirmeth) that person that comes of a noble race, is the stem of a noble stock, and hath the affluence of Fortune accompanied with Vertue, hath arrived to the apex or perfection, the very Quintessence of true Nobility. But, be-

cause it is a rarity to find one person adorned with them all; Vertue alone can by her own right and property *nobilitare viros*. As for revenues, large acres, specious & spacious Mannors, but no manners, and the honour that we challenge from our Ancestors, without vertue, they are so far from being ornaments, that they prove a disparagement and a stain to the Owner. Such persons render the name of their Predecessors obscure; And through the vices of their Posterity, are entombed in the grave of oblivion: Therefore it is better to ascend the top of Nobility by a man's own vertue (saith the fluent Orator) than to be reputed for the opinion conceived of his Ancestors; because the Beginner of Nobility deserves most praise and applause. He that is the off-spring of a noble Family, deserves honour and esteem undoubtedly, with this proviso, that he make it the Butt and End of his Endeavours and Industry, to equal, if not excel, the Vertues of his Parents and Predecessors, and to gain unto himself more vertuous and glorious Attributes. And infinitely are they to be commended that do so; for they are so far from obscuring the Fame and Renown of their Fore-fathers, that they add a most resplendent

dent lustre to it by their own vertue yet verdant and blossoming. The Law of the *Rhodians* is worthy of commendation; for they enacted, that those children that did lead a debauched life, not imitating the virtues of their Parents, should be utterly disinherited, and their Lands by a Deed of gift freely disposed of to the most vertuous of the Race or Family. It is an office of piety, to leave unto Posterity a demonstration of our gratitude and thankfulness to our Ancestors, whose heirs we are, not only of their external substance, (the goods of fortune, I mean) but of their virtue, glory, and renown: which is the true inheritance, and the best of all terrene possessions. For, 'tis not a stately Building hung within with coats of Arms, and badges of the honour of others, nor the vast unmeasurable pieces of Land belonging thereunto, but Vertue, that Nobilitates; As *Juvenal* sings,

*Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, Nobilitas sola est, atque unica virtus.*

For, wheresoever Vertue is resident, it deserves more ample commendation than Fortune can lay claim to, because she

refuseth none, but may be by every one embraced; she dwels in the homely Peasants Cottage, as well as in the Princes stately Palace; and we find the Sun-bak'd Peasant adorn'd with russet-honesty, when the gaudy fantastick Lord oft-times is so vitious, that he is a stranger both to vertue and honesty. *Cleanthes* was a poor water-drawer; and, though his outside might seem rough-hewn, and he despicable and contemptible to one whose sight pries no farther than the external part: yet his mind was refin'd, and his intellect ennobled with such faculties as will speak him Man, to an understanding person, maugre all the force and violence of Poverty or Fortune: Nor did Vertue find *Plato* noble, but made him so. And it is most certain, that from Bondmen Kings have descended, and the offspring of Kings hath been enslaved: such revolutions, long tract of time, by the assistance of fickle fortune, doth produce: for, according to the Poet,

*Si fortuna volet, fies de Rhetore Consul;
Si volet hac eadem, fies de Consule Rhetor.*

Up and down,
Kiss and frown.
Fortune is no state at all.

Was

Was not *Agathocles* from a Potter advanced to the Throne? What *Heroes* were *Romulus*, *Tullus*, *Hostilius*, *Tarquinius Priscus*, and the whole Race of the Romans, more than others? Of mean parentage all, nor *atavis regibus editi*. Harken to *Juvenal*, and he will give you the same information:

*Et tamen ut longe repetas, longoque revolvas,
Nomen ab infami gentum deducis Asto.*

Who therefore may be termed noble? He that by nature is made virtuous, and qualified or adorned with the attribute of wisdom. Moreover, as the exercise of our qualities is various, so are the degrees of Nobility. The Nobility of private persons, that lead a contemplative life only, may be called Philosophical Nobility; but the same in those that gain glory and renown by their sage and wise Counsel in behalf of the Commonwealth, or that manifest themselves stout and valiant in managing war for the defence of their Country, is termed Civil Nobility. The force and efficacy of this Nobility extends to Posterity, and engraves or makes *monumentum are perennius*; That is, armour of proof against the iron teeth of time; *Quod nec*

Jouis ira; incignis, Nec potest ferrum, nec edax aboleret vetustas. By these ensignes of Fame and vertue, men are stimulated and spurred on to imitate and exceed the vertue of all their Predecessors. And as in every Republick there are two kinds of Time, the one of Peace, and the other of War: so the Citizens are of two sorts; the one fitted for Peace, and the other adapted for War: The former by Arms doth enlarge the Territories and bounds of his native Country, or at least defend them from the invasion of forraign enemies; the other by wise counsel and grave advice doth rule and preserve it inviolable. Wherefore, a Commonwealth should be composed of these two sorts of men: for, as in the management and proceedings of State-affairs, action followeth consultation, and is inferior to it: so those persons, by whose mature counsel and deliberate advice the Commonwealth was quietly, peaceably and discreetly governed, were of greater esteem than those that enlarged the Confinesthereof by War and Arms. *Homer*, the Prince of Græcian Poets, produceth *Agamemnon*, saying, He could sooner surprize and subjugate the City of *Troy* by the advice of ten *Nestors* or *Ulysses*, than by the valour

valour of twice as many *Ajaces* or *Achilles*. *Pyrrhus* likewise was heard to use this expression frequently, That *Cineas* by his eloquence had won more Cities, than he with all his men of War had ever conquered. But, he that excelleth in wisdom and martial knowledge, deserves the Crown and honour above all: and though, as we said before, it is Vertue that makes a man Noble, without the additional riches of Fortunes; yet it is requisite our Counsellor should be wealthy; because thereby he may be able to supply his Country, if compelled to wage war; for money is the finews and strength of war. But good education, saith *Plato*, is the basis and foundation of solid wisdom and prudence. It is therefore requisite, that from their tender years they be instructed in all things that conduce to the accomplishment of man, *et canabuntur*, as we say, even from the cradle and nursing slouts, for then are they most apt to imbebe and suck in the most wholesome Precepts that shall be exhibited unto them: for then *animus est quasi tabula rasa*, like a blank or piece of clean white paper, capable of any vertuous or noble impression. And as it becometh a Republick to be stored with knowing Subjects, so ought they

they to be diligent in their education, and provide them good Tutors, that may instruct them, and chalk them out the way of Vertue. For, as a good husbandman diligently pruneth his plants, and loppeth off the superfluous branches, when the season requires it, that they may grow the faster; so the Commonwealth, that may justly be termed the Parent and Housewife of Subjects, ought to be extraordinary diligent to provide for the careful and vertuous education of youth, by lopping off the superfluous branches of vice, and engrafting them on the stock of Vertue. The *Lacedæmonians* used to elect Magistrates out of the number of their grave, wise and sober Citizens, and call them publike Tutors, which might serve to educate and train up their younglings; and were alwaies revered by them, being judged vertuous men in action, and well skill'd in military discipline. And the ancient Romans were as strict and careful in this point of education, as the *Lacedæmonians*. *Cato* was so diligent in the nurture and education of his Son, that he disdained not to receive him into his tuition, and take him into his pupillage or guardianship as soon as ever ripeness of age had fitted him for instruction.

on. And although at that very time he kept *Chilo* the Grammarian, and one excellent in that art, in his house, to instruct his Children, yet he had not permission to correct them, but that was left to the discretion of the Father. Besides, he disdained to be engaged to a School-master for the instruction of his Children altogether; wherefore he taught them the Laws, manners and Customs of his own as well as other Nations; as also, how to dart, handle his Arms, swim, (which was anciently much in esteem; for, *Aristotle* when he would set forth an absolute *Dulman* or *Ignaro*, saith, μήτε γινῆναι, μήτε γράμματα; he could neither read nor swim,) and to endure both heat and cold, that he might be hardened and seasoned for any enterprize. Besides, he penn'd a History with his own hands, and committed it to the perusal of his Son, that he might therein see and understand the heroick deeds and actions of his Ancestors, and be instructed in the art of Government. He never spake any unclean or passionate word before his Son, but was as circumspect in his language, as if the Vestal Virgins or Priests were in presence; observing that ancient rule,

Nil

*Nil dicta fœdum, fœdave hæc limina tangat
Intra quæ puer est* ———

And this was the œconomique or domestique discipline of Cato, and of the major part of the Romans, especially of the better sort, in the education of their Children. In like manner the Philosophers of Greece composed plaies for the instruction of youth; which is preserved to this very day among us, (though that custome for some years was almost obsolete and out of request.) Nor were they only capable of indoctrinating, or laying down the tenets, that are necessary to a happy and good life, but they were of ability to instruct in the Laws and manner of Government: Yea, this our present Age hath some Seminaries of Learning and Vertue (according to the Græcian custome) the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, (though lately ready to expire, and almost demolished by the Phnatricks, who hated all book-learning (as they term it) because their crimes were so hainous, that they went beyond the mercy of the book.) Hither Youth might resort, as unto a Harvest of Science and Knowledge, and might reap a crop of Vertue and good

good Discipline. But it were to be wish'd, that the Doctors and Tutors in our Universities would instruct their Pupils in the art of living, and not disputing well altogether, (for, so might they deserve preferment from the Commonwealth, and commendation from all solid persons,) and not take more delight in hearing a Prævaricator or Jester, than a solid Philosopher. In ancient times, Philosophers enjoyned their Pupils silence, and taught it also; but our modern wits teach them only to talk or discourse; which is the reason the Nation is filled with so many worded Orators, and prating Philosophers. They endeavor not, *nunc dierum*, to refine the understanding, but to cloath the tongue with frothy language; and are applauded for altercation and strength of wit in their publike arguments, but not for modesty or solid wisdom: yet there is hope of a reformation in these Schools of Learning, when those loyal Spirits, that for their Allegiance to their Sovereign were dismissed, are re-instated. The ancient Græcian Academies were the Nurseries of Commonwealths; and out of them (as from the Trojan Horse) issued most excellent Monarchs, stout Captains, and wise Gover-

nors. *Alexander* and *Scipio*, with whose Fame the whole World hath ecchoed, had their primitive education in Schools of Literature; and many others, which I omit. Thus it is apparent, that men ought to be trained up in Schools, that so they may be instructed in the Principles of Government: wherefore it ought to be the care of every State, Republick and Kingdom, that their Seminaries of Learning be as well furnished and stored with Vertues, as the Citizens shops are with wares and commodities. Now then, we see that good education is requisite, and accomplisheth our Senator. Besides, he must have an inclination to Vertue; for if not, his evill disposition will hardly be bettered by Philosophy: for, the nature of man prompts him to evill; and he finding himself strengthened with the Science of Philosophy, is more expert, and gains more skill to palliate and plead for his bad actions: for the best of Sciences possessed by a man of an evil disposition, is depraved, and, contrary to its own nature, is a help to, and promoter of evill counsel. So that it may be maintained, that good instruction bestowed upon an evill nature, is oftentimes ill employed, and ineffectual. Though it is
most

most certain, that Education prevails much with tender years, changing it from vice, and molding it according to the form of Vertue. *Diogenes* being demanded, How a man might lead a peaceable and quiet life; Replied, first, He must fear the Deity, who is the Author of all felicity. Secondly, He must bestow good education on his Children, the want whereof makes them enemies, and disrespectful to their aged Parents. Thirdly, He must avoid ingratitude to his friends, which of all crimes is the most odious and comprehensive, containing within it self a whole bundle of offences. *Ingratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris.* Mention but Ingratitude, and you have epitomized all sins in a word. Moreover, it is necessary that Children be instructed in the rudiments of Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick, whereby they may understand the property of speech, and the excellency thereof, as also defend it by argumentation. Thus may he understand the Art of Eloquence, which is perfected by use, discourse, and surveying the works of Poets and Orators; and being thus instructed, he will shake off those petty inconsiderable things that are understood by every mean capacity, and take into consideration matters of greater

greater weight and importance. And the mind, beginning to know her self, seeks after the true food and nourishment that will satisfy and content her, which is Philosophy; of which in this ensuing Chapter.

CHAP. III.

The knowledge of Arts and Sciences required in Senators; and particularly, that of Philosophy.

Philosophy is the food and medicine of the mind, affording it Vertue as Aliment, and healing all sorts of maladies and disturbances that are incident thereunto, making a perfect path-way to happiness. The reason is, because that then the mind shaketh off the terrene incumbrances that usually clog the body, and meditates upon things Divine and Coelestial. This knowledge of Philosophy is of two sorts; the one consists in the subtilty of Nature, and is subject to the universal contemplation of all men: The other demonstrateth and laies down the true institution of men and manners, shewing how Republicks and Kingdoms ought to be regulated, and
private

private Families ordered. To the first these parts of Philosophy belong : Physicks or natural Philosophy, Metaphysicks or Divinity, and the Mathematicks ; and to the other, Ethicks, Politicks and Oeconomics. Nor is the *finis* or end of these two sorts of Philosophy altogether discrepant, since they both tend to the perfection of man : yet in this they differ, that the one endeavours it by Contemplation, and the other by Action ; the one by Theory, and the other by Practice ; whereof a double felicity doth arise, the one private, and the other publike. Now, those that place felicity in the exercise of vertue for the good of the Republick, the more publike it be, the more praise-worthy it is judged ; because a multitude receives benefit thereby, and not one single person. Yet we are necessitated and compelled to confess, that contemplation on felicity hath the pre-eminency, because it instructs in the principal efficient causes of all things and transactions. God also without action, by his perpetual and divine contemplation and prescience, foreseeing all things, doth by his own example move Philosophers to prefer divine contemplation before all humane action and felicity. That Philosophy

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is

is necessary in a Senator, for the more secure management of State-affairs, will appear by what follows. Philosophy is the eternal, immortal gift of the Creator, instructing us in the knowledge of all things both divine and humane; as also the nature of vertue and vice: so that he that (as in a glass) peeps therein, and then considers and meditates upon it, shall see the forms, *Idea's* and Images of all things; and perceive a resemblance or representation both of body and mind. It was not therefore without cause styled by fluent *Cicero*, Universal knowledge, the conduct of life, the searcher of vertue, the expeller of vice, and the *Panacea*, or health of the Soul. For indeed, there is nothing in the world to be thought or acted, either in Court or Council, of great or small importance, but proceeds from Philosophy, as the Nurse of all consultations, actions, and resolutions: which if you make your rule to walk by, all your words and actions will be judged sober, wise, discreet, and in all respects perfect, as far as man can be. For, in what Country soever the People have a Philosopher to their Prince, or one that is counselled by Philosophers; war, discord, or rebellion is seldome found. But, methinks I

hear

hear some Phanatick lay this Objection in my way, as a stumbling-block to my proceedings. Dost thou imagine, Sir Philosopher (that's as good as Mr Doctor, an usual phrase among them) that the felicity of Kingdoms and Republicks, or the wisdom of Kings and Governours proceeds from thy lazy idle discipline ? (Rash, illiterate fellows, they never consider that the sweat of the brains is greater than the sweat of the brow) whenas that Art is but a meer juggling, prating science ; not that knowledge whereby men arrive to their intended felicity. How canst thou be so impudent (the Omer of respect they afford to every one is Thou and Thee ; and if it lay in their power, they would take away two as necessary Pronouns, Thine and Mine) as to dare to infect the Kingdom (Commonwealth, I should have said ; for the name of King is enough to fright them into convulsion-fits) with that that will prove the ruine and destruction of it ? For, as thou hast filled the Schools with debate and contention, so wilt thou rend the state with divisions ; and though it may be argued out in the Univerſity without blows, yet canst thou think, that it will be determined in a Commonwealth without the

effusion of blood? How shall the happiness of a Republick be maintained and preserved by Philosophers, whose opinions carry so much variety, dubiousness, and diametrical opposition? Which of all the Philosophical Sects shall our Commonwealth be guided by; the Platonist, Peripaterick, Stoick, Cynick, or Epicure? Now, they that differ about the *summum bonum*, do they not dissent in the substance of Philosophy? Therefore I am clearly of opinion, That they who relie solely on Philosophy, are rather to be excluded than admitted to govern in any State or Republick whatsoever. Is it consentaneous to reason, that he should be a Legislator, that approves of no Law, but what is of his own prescription, relying wholly upon his own reason, or rather phancie and opinion; conceiting all persons, himself excepted, brutish and irrational? Is not this the humour and disposition of your philosophical crew? Did *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, or *Epicetus* ever deserve to sit at the Helm of State? To which I reply; There are two sorts of Philosophers whom I judge altogether unfit to govern: the first are they that have only had a smack of Philosophy, so that the thirsting heat of their vitious desires

desires and appetites is not quenched by vertue; and they themselves lead lives quite contrary to the Precepts of Philosophy, for want of good ground and solid foundation in that Science. Another sort of Philosophers there is, quite contrary to the forementioned, who having *à tenera etate*, from their very youth been conversant with Philosophers, and studied Philosophy, do waste away their daies in the contemplative part only: such kind of Philosophy, which conduceth not to the emolument & benefit of the Commonwealth or Kingdom, is altogether unprofitable. For, albeit they be learned, wise, and have turned over most Authors, and can give an account of all their Precepts and rules; yet they applying their minds to contemplation, not being experienced in civill affairs, are unfit for Government. Now these contemplative Philosophers are justly called *Sapientes*, but they are not *prudentes*; as Geometricians, Mathematicians, and all the Society of natural Philosophers. In like manner *Diogenes*, *Zenocrates*, *Chrysippus*, *Carneades*, *Democritus*, *Metrocles*, *Aristippus*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Thales*, were wise men, and of profound knowledge; but not prudent; because their manner of wisdom and Phi-

losophy did prompt them to recreate and content themselves in obscure, secret and hidden matters, contrary to the nature of prudence: and though these Sciences in themselves are good and commendable, yet are they impertinent and unprofitable to the State, when kept close to themselves, and not employed for the publick good. Now, prudence consists in those things that require deliberation and counsel: yet, if those contemplative Philosophers had not debarr'd themselves from humane Society and conversation, but sought after employment in publick affairs, as *Pericles*, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and others did, they had no doubt been men of incomparable wisdom and prudence, which *Socrates* (though herein he contradict *Aristotle*) styles the only vertue; meaning (as I conceive, with submission to more mature judgements.) that no vertue can be or continue without it. *Bion* was of opinion, That Prudence did excel all other vertues, as far as the sight doth the rest of the senses; affirming that vertue to be as proper and frequent in old men, as vigour and strength in those that are young. Wherefore it is requisite that our Senator be endued therewith; for he can neither
speak

speake nor act any thing futable to his age and gravity, if he be not, as with sauce, seasoned therewith. The Latines call this vertue *Prudentia*, & *providendo*, from foreseeing things to come, disposing of those that are present, and recollecting things past. For, he that doth not ruminare on things past, is altogether unmindful of his elapsed life; and he that foresees not things future, is subject to many perils, and apt to be ensnared by every misfortune. Prudence (saith *Cicero*) is the knowledge of things good, evill, and indifferent; consisting wholly in the choice of that which is to be embraced, as also in that which is to be eschewed, or carefully avoyded: And according to *Aristotle*, it is a habit coupled with perfect reason, apt for good action, and exercised in those things which are either good or evil, and may evene or happen to man during this life. Therefore contemplative wisdom differs from Prudence in this, that the former exceedeth not the bounds of contemplation, and the latter is wholly exercised in action, and the managment of humane affairs. *Plato* affirmeth, that there are two things observable in the life of Man; The first is, For a man to know himself: And the second, To know

and understand all things : Therefore let our Senator be stored with this wisdom, viz. of knowing himself ; for without it, no reason, vertue, action or cogitation can be reputed good or perfect. By the help of this wisdom, the prudent man first settles and orders his own affairs ; in which skill if he be deficient, he must not be offended at the name of fool. Now, under Prudence is comprehended or contained the skill of well-regulating domestical business, and the knowledge of enacting and making Laws, civill wisdom, and policy in consultation and judgement. Which is the reason why *Cicero* termeth the prudent management of oeconomiques, or household, domestical, and the same in State-affairs, civill wisdom. And to the end that the Senator may ground his wisdom upon a solid foundation, whereunto his imagination may have recourse for reason to steer him to the truth ; let him alwaies have before his eyes these things, honesty, and profit : So that whatsoever he acteth or affirmeth privately, or publikely, may be directed by them both : for, all things that can be either conceived by reason, or expressed by truth, are included within the limits of these two. Wherefore it is convenient

nient that he be furnished with a peracute wit, and solid understanding, that he may dive into the abstruse nature of things, and find out what is honest and profitable; lest the mind hoodwinckt with inordinate affections and desires, seduce the judgement, and lead him from the path of truth. And many there are, who finding themselves to have depraved their reason, by giving the reins to their loose affections and lusts, do fall into erroneous opinions quite opposite and contrary to wisdom. Whence it follows inevitably, that they are not only cheated in their choice of that which is honest and profitable, but are blindfolded with the love of that which is absolutely dishonest and unprofitable. To prevent which error, two things are to be taken into consideration. First, Not to take things unknown for known, and præcipitantly assent unto them: Next, Not to give way in the least to any evill custome; (for, *consuetudo* or *usus secunda natura*; Custome doth tyrannize over the nature of man;) or to walk contrary to the rules of vertue. A thing that may with facility be comprehended by a Senator, if he consider the good and welfare of the Commonwealth, which is the *Meta* or scope that all wisdom and

and counsel aims at : nor can the Natives of his own Country, nay, wisdom her self, require more at his hands, or expect more from him, than industry in preserving the safety and felicity of the place of his nativity. But now it lies upon me to prove what Philosophy best befits a Senator.

Wherefore since the felicity of every Counsellor, and the quintessence of all knowledge consists in action, it ought to be his care and study to be exquisite in that part of Philosophy which prescribeth the rules of regulating mens actions, and the Science of Government ; to the end, that he may understand what is the best course of life ; what is necessary and requisite for the administration of publike and private affaires, and be skilful in ordaining Laws, correcting Judgments, and governing of People. Let him therefore be expert in that part of Philosophy that instructeth the management of mans life, and the Art of Consultation. For otherwise what account will he be able to give *de vivendi ratione*, of the best way of living, according to the rules of vertue, that is uncapable of giving you a definition thereof ? What discourse can such a one make concerning Counsel, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance,
or

or Wisdom? How shall he appease the mutineers, suppress sedition, or mitigate the rigour and severity of the Laws, or proceed according to the rigour thereof, when he is ignorant of the precepts of Justice and Prudence? What counsel or advice can he afford either of War, Peace, or Contracts, that understands not when War is lawful, or unlawful; Peace just, or unjust; and Treaties honorable, or dishonorable? Whenas he ought not only to conceive all the Precepts of vertue and morality, and to understand them by name; but to exercise and put them in practice. The sum of which knowledge is contained in the Ethicks, Politicks, and Oeconomicks; from these, as from a Magazine or Storehouse, he may furnish himself with all Rules, Directions, and Precepts, for the exercise of vertue, and the government of a Kingdom, as also the order of a domestical life. And though all this while we plead for the necessity of Philosophy in our Senators, yet are we clearly against the divisions and Sects of Philosophy; nor is it profitable, but rather injurious to the Commonwealth, that the minds of men should be divided into several whimsies and opinions. First therefore, we extirpate Epicurism;

rism; Because it being grounded on, and supported by sensual delights and pleasures, ought not to be in him whom we elect for our Senator. The Stoick we do not blame or accuse; yet we hold it convenient that their Tenets be exploded, as unfit for our Counsellor; in regard that (as *Cicero* saith) they maintain the Philosopher to be the only wise man, and that all other persons are but Thieves, barbarous, and infatuated. For, it were absurd to admit him a Senator, that is of an opinion there is no wise Counsellor, Freeman, or Citizen, himself excepted. And though there hath ever been a dissention between the Stoick and Peripatetick touching the *Summum bonum*: yet we adhere to the latter, because they are the best Tutors of Vertue and good Manners, and the most noble, valiant, wise, discreet Captains: Counsellors, Emperours and Kings have issued out of that Society. Besides, it is requisite that our Senator be well read in History, and exercised in all humane Learning: For first, in History he will find out the notable sayings and acts of wise men, that have lived in elapsed time, which are not so plentifully found in any Books, as in the monumental Annals, and Chronicles
of

of fore-past Ages. This was the reason that moved *Tully* to call History, The witness of time, the light of truth, the memorial of life, and the Herald of Antiquity. For, can any person paint out so fully to the life, or give so perfect a delineation of Vertue, Fortitude, Justice, Continence, Frugality, and contempt of death, in an eloquent and fluent Oration, as may be read in the actions of *Cornelii*, *Valerii*, *Fabritii*, *Curii*, *Decii*, *Mutii*, and others? What noble Heroes have our modern times produced! Hath not the Politick Monck, Noble *Massey*, and Loyal *Montross*, been singular and almost unimitable for their Policy, Valour, and Magnanimity? From these, and the like, he may make an extract of the most exact civill knowledge, and direct himself in the management of State-affairs. Besides, Policy must be one of his chief studies: and he must be expert in understanding the transactions of Noblemen, the humors, dispositions, and temper of all mens spirits, the Order and Government of Commonweals, and civill Societies: it is also necessary, that he be perfect in all Ordinances, Acts and Laws, either for Peace, War, Provisions, the quality of the Subject, the administration of
the

the State, or the nature of men : as also to understand, what exalts, and what abaseth the mind ; what Vertue is, what Discipline and Education is most convenient for youth ; what Customs must be ratified or made firm ; what duty we owe to God, and what reverence to Religion, and Allegiance to our Sovereign : in all which, we have a *Monck* among us of late (though none that ever entred into Canonical Orders) who will sufficiently instruct us. Nor must he be ignorant in Leagues, Contracts, and Alliances with Forraign Princes and Potentates : Since such proceedings are dayly found in Kings Courts. Well therefore did *Antonius* describe a Senator or Counsellor, in these words : He is one that ought to understand by what means the Kingdom or Republick receives benefit ; and when occasion offers, to put them in practice. And, such were in *Rome* the *Lentuli*, *Gracchi*, *Metelli*, *Scipiones*, and *Lelii*. Now, he that is well practised in the Law, hath experience in War, or skill in oeconomicks, or domestick Authority, deserves to be promoted to the dignity of a Counsellor. Eloquence is also a great ornament to our Senator ; but of that and some other qualifications, more at large in the ensuing Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Eloquence, Clemency, Piety, and other Vertues necessary to the accomplishment of a Senator.

THESE most noble Sciences and Arts will be infinitely adorned in our Senator by the addition of Eloquence, which is the true ornament of wisdom. For, without this accomplishment, all things else are as it were dead, till they do flourish by the help of Rhetorick; And an eloquent, terse, and curiously-penn'd Oration doth not only commend the Author, but the private and publike benefit is oftentimes promoted thereby. It is this that appeaseth with her neat-spun blandishments the fury of our enraged enemies. Now, whatsoever he pronounceth, it must be done gravely, advisedly, eloquently, readily, and with comely gesture; for this, according to the Poet,

—*Emollit animos, & temperat iras.*

The supple oyl of an insinuating Oration
will

will heal the wounds of a mutinous Rable, and reduce them to their former obedience. Next unto Eloquence, the knowledge and insight in the Law is required; the end whereof tends to the conservation of Equity. And indeed, who can with greater wisdom decide a cause or controverſie? Who can better appeaſe ſedition, (the poyſon of a Kingdom) or more rationally defend the Laws, Customs, Rights and Priviledges of the People, than he that is ſkill'd in the Law? Well then may we ſay, as it hath been affirmed heretofore, That the Habitation of a learned Lawyer is the Oracle of the City. Now, the Law in all Kingdoms is bound to tye every man to his duty, and to defend them ſo long as they continue vertuous and faithful. But, it is not ſufficient only to enact Laws neither, that puniſh or recompence men according to demerits; but, to compoſe Laws, Customs, and Exerciſes (as the Lacedemonians did) wherein the People may take delight: beſides, ſuch judgement muſt be uſed in the preſcribing of Laws, that therein all occaſion of offences may be removed. For, as the Phyſician by his medicines heals the maladies of the body; ſo the Counſellor ought by good and wholeſome

some Laws to cure the distempers of the mind. Yet they are not to be approved of, who perceiving an inconveniency growing, immediately fall to execution, without considering how the same mischievous design may be utterly extirpated: For it is more consonant to reason, for a Senator to endeavour the reducing men to justice and honesty, than to study how to execute them for every offence committed. What man can be so inhumane, that would not rather remove the cause? and then assuredly the effect would cease. Who would not rather provide corn for the poor, than through the want thereof force them to turn Robbers, and send them to execution for it? And who is there, that seeing the Kingdom overspread with debauchery, and the people addicted to licentiousness, would not endeavour to correct and reform these enormities by pecuniary mulcts, sooner than by penal Laws? Therefore, as *Cicero* saith, if thou wilt remove Covetousness, take away her Mother, Excecs. Wherefore he must have all the commodities and discommodities of his Country before his eyes, and then he may be so expert in State-Chirurgery, as to heal the sores and wounds wherewith the body politick is oftentimes

troubled. Yet we desire not that our Senator should be a pleader at the Bar, Proctor, or Advocate, because that most of that Tribe (Charity forbids me to say all) being mercenary, are many times the ministers of falshood and injustice, bearing about them minds and tongues principled against justice and truth. Indeed, it is a difficult piece of business for him to be a Lover of equity and truth, whose tongue hath been accustomed to walk for lucre. Not but that many famous Counsellors have been found among those gowned Gentlemen; but all men are incident to failings, of what profession or function soever: nor is this to be imputed to them alone, there are others that shake hands with them: But enough of that. Civill Discipline falls next under our consideration, whereby he is instructed how to lead his life discreetly, and to govern his Country with gravity and justice. Now he was termed a civill man among Philosophers, who by vertue and wisdom was enabled to command civilly; and he oftentimes had the authority of making Laws, and governing of Subjects. *Plato* in his Commonwealth hath framed two sorts of Discipline; the one relating to the exercises

of the body, and the other of the mind: the discipline of the mind he called *Musica*, and that of the body *Gymnastica*. Now, by the harmony of Musick, he understands a certain concord or consent of mind, wherein all actions do amiably agree with vertue, and vertue with them; which *Copula* Law and Philosophy make up in Man: for hereby we are capable of judging what is honest, and what dishonest; what just, and what unjust; what is to be loved, and what to be loathed: and besides, what duty we owe to our Parents, Princes and Magistrates. By *Gymnastica*, he means the exercises of the body, whereby the vigour and strength of man is much helped and encreased. This consists in leaping, running, wrestling, hunting, riding, darting, swimming, to be both right and left-handed; in brief, all military exercises and honest recreations are contained in this word *Gymnastica*. It is very necessary and requisite in all sorts of men (much more then in our Senator) to conjoyn the exercises of the body with the vertues of the mind, and to mix Fortitude with Temperance. For, as by the one, Man aspireth to that which is noble; so by the other, he thinks it no

derogation to him to be humble ; and being thus in *aequilibrio*, he inclines neither to this side, nor that ; so that he shall never dare, nor doubt too much. And as by Fortitude we are able to repulse injury, so by Temperance and Moderation we abstain from offering injury. By the former, we are prompted to an honest becoming violence ; by the latter, we are instructed to check and curb hair-bain'd fury, and to quench the flames of a vindicative spirit. Now, it is the opinion of *Plato*, that the Musical and Gymnastical Sciences conduce much to these qualifications ; For to the one, Temperance, and the other Vertues may be referred ; to the other, Fortitude of body, and magnanimity of mind. Wherefore it is convenient, that they be both united, and walk hand in hand ; because the Gymnastick Exercises alone, create firmness ; and Musick of it self, begets too much mildness and effeminacy ; but both twinn'd and coupled together in any man, do mould him according to the shape and perfection of Vertue. Therefore every person that would be thought fit for counsel, must be thus exercised ; because hereby he is adapted both for peace and war ; and to this very purpose was he

born

born; for he must be as able to perform the Office of a Commander, as a Counsellor: notable therefore, and worthy the mentioning, was that Roman Institution, which imposed a command upon them to train up their noble and honourable Citizens to be Counsellors at home, and Captains abroad: which is the reason, that *Rome* enclosed so great a number of Sage Senators and stout Souldiers within the circumference of her walls: Insomuch that *Cyneas*, the Embassadour of *Pyrrhus*, having had audience of the splendid and illustrious Senate, reported, that in *Rome* he had seen an Assembly of many Kings. Nor can they be skill'd in commanding, if the Subjects are not exercised in obedience; which is performed by their love and honour to the Magistrate, as well as obeying their Commands; all which proceeds from the due execution of Laws: and the first step that leads up to the Temple of Vertue, is to submit to the Law, and the Law-maker: for the Law of every Kingdom, State, or Republick, is nothing but vertue, and a good *decorum* in the leading of our lives, reduced to certain rules. *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, hearing it related that the reason why that Commonwealth flourished so

much, proceeded from the Kings skill in Policy and Government ; replied, No such matter ; for the true reason is this, The Subjects are well exercised in their duty and obedience to Superiours. And (as *Plutarch* hath it) to obey the Magistracie and the Laws, to undergo all dangers and travels with patience, to fight manfully, and die voluntarily, was the chief point of the Lacedemonian discipline. And herein they were all trained ; to the end, that being thus instructed, they might know how to defend their Country in time of War, govern it in time of Peace ; and such as live privately, to employ their vacant hours honestly, that is, in the prosecution of Learning ; obtaining a becoming gesture, musick, painting, vaulting, and the like, that they may keep themselves in action, and be freed from that gross imputation of ignorant. It behoves him also to be witty and docible. Now, Wit is a certain natural force of reason, able to conceive what is rational ; which, although many times it be not helpt by industry, art or memory, yet it is powerful of it self, and without learning may burnish a man. Wherefore he must so know his own wit, as to become sharp in reason, and finding out the causes
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of things : which of it self is a happiness,
and that a great one too ; as the Poet
sings,

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

Nay, wisdom her self, whereby we first
conceive all things, springs from acuteness
of wit: Now, they that are adorned with
them both, are termed ingenious ; and that
wit is the best, and most to be commended,
which is constant, strong, sharp, pleasant,
and natural. Now, the edge of ingenuity
is very much acuated by the whetstone of
docility and memory : By the one, we are
taught to make a construction of those
things that are laid before us ; by the o-
ther, we retain whatsoever proceeds from
our invention, or the expressions of others ;
therefore it is requisite our Counsellor
should be well exercised in these accom-
plishments : for, it is an argument of a
dull, slow, ignorant person, not to have a
quick conception of what is said, and a
tenacious memory to recollect what hath
been spoken by others. Now next, he
must have Understanding : For as wit is
the ornament of a Senator, so Understand-
ing is the light of wit, by which we con-

ceive all things, or their *Idea's*, whether true or false. For, by common understanding we comprehend the knowledge of things, and thereby pass a judgement on them, and conclude, all that is honest is to be referred to vertue, and what is unlawful or dishonest, to vice: yet this understanding is not separated from the Senses, who are, as it were, Interpreters and Reporters of knowledge; yet must we be careful to avoid being deceived by sensual judgement; for it is frequently known, that either art or subtilty, singly or joyntly, play the cheat with us; which error is to be diligently avoided. Besides, he must be circumspect, not only in private, but publick chances and events: For he must endeavour to foresee all blustering storms that may be injurious to the State, and study the preservation of every member thereof. This that we call circumspection, is a careful and mature consideration of things to be practised or acted; and of great importance, as well in the serene time of peace, as in the blustering season of war; because that wise circumspection diverts the force and fury of Fortune, and we are ready to submit to grave counsel and advice. In this vertue *Quintus Fabius* did excell; for
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he according to the Poet, by procrastination and lingering delay, preserved the Roman State.

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

But on the contrary, *Flaminius* relying upon the arm of strength, and his courage, incircumspectly assaulted *Hannibal*, to his great disadvantage and prejudice. So *Q. Scipio* the Consul, with divers that might be mentioned, through their incircumspection were infested by the *Cimbri*. And it is as useful in time of peace : for the Senator should be eyed like *Argus*, and *Lynx*-sighted, to pry narrowly into those things that might arise to the discommodity of the Commonwealth, and make a discovery of them ; otherwise, he cannot prevent the seditions, wars, and calamities that daily happen to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. Some men are so ignorant and blinded with superfluity and pleasure, that they can hardly discern things that are placed before their eyes, much less foresee them ; which sort of men, as persons given up to their private more than the public interest, are to be exempted from Government. For, though they understand
that

that through want of circumspection war threatens a Nation, the people are captivated, the Country run over and ruined, Towns sack'd, Houses burnt, fields wasted, Temples profaned; yet use they no circumspection, counsel, and medicine, either to cure or cool their fury or rage. But the grave Counsellor studies by what means to continue the common safety and welfare of a Country or Kingdom: He provideth, that the rage of a barbarous enemy may be beaten back or restrained by Fortresses, Pallizadoes, and Garrisons; that Castles and Bulwarks may be erected, the places of defence fortified, and all breaches stopt up; all which thus ordered, check the fury of an insulting enemy, and annihilate his barbarous design and intention to bring all to destruction. Now there being a convention of well-trained Citizens, armed and ready to oppose, the Commonwealth is thereby fortified, (and the Lacedaemonians call stout men the walls of *Sparta*) disdaining the force of torrein enemies, and preventing their offering violence.

As for his Speech, he must be compendious, curt and grave, in all his Orations that he pens, or Speeches that he makes

makes ; as *Horace* adviseth him,

In verbis etiam tenuis, cautusque serendis.

For, a rash inconsiderate speech, is not so soon called back as pronounced ; and the unadvised utterance thereof, may prejudice the Commonwealth, and afford the Orator matter of repentance. And the reason is this, because in an *extempore* speech we pour out and divulge many things that are to be concealed.

Nor must our Senator be overswayed by Passion ; for, passion is like false position in Verse, nine faults at least. Now it is the noblest piece of wisdom under the heavens, for a man to monarchize over himself, so as to subjugate and conquer his affections, according to that known verse,

*Fortior est qui se, quam qui fortissima vincit
Mœnia*——

It is a greater piece of valour for a man to subdue and curb his hair-brain'd passion, than to conquer the stoutest enemy. Besides, when he is put upon a parley with the enemy, a treaty with Embassadors, or a conference with neighbouring Princes,
he

he must be very circumspect; for their endeavour is to discover secrets by conjecture, and fish out the design intended by circumstances and signs. Wherefore he must have a constant fixed resolution, and a composed countenance; for the changing of the countenance, motion of the eyes, and variety of gesture, are the bewrayers of mens minds, as *Gondamore* well observed; and indeed, *facies est index rerum*. One may soon read a mans mind in his face, and by the calculation of his looks guess at his intentions. And as he must not be too credulous, no more must he be altogether incredulous, unless the reputation of the matter or person compel him to it; Since it is very unseemly, and beneath the gravity of a judicious Senator, to maintain a controversy against an apparent truth. Neither would we confine him to an absolute silence, or padlock his mouth, so as to debar him of that excellent gift of speech; for, thereby he may be thought stupid or effeminate, since the one is imputed to ignorance, and the other to a kind of maidenly modesty, or misbecoming bashfulness. Therefore he must use a mean between both; yet so, that he be a greater hearer than speaker: Nature bestowed on man a pair
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of ears, and but one single tongue. Yet, notwithstanding all this, it must needs be judged as great a piece of discretion to know when to be silent, as well as how, where, to whom, and in what place to speak.

Next, Sagacity and craftiness is requisite: for, War was never more politickly managed, Armies more securely governed, nor the plots and machinations of subtille enemies more wisely undermined, or overthrown, than by the vertue of caution; which he that wants, can no way be termed a Captain General. Now, Sagacity is a sharp and pleasant conceit; and as it is the property of a wise man to consult well, so it is the part of an apprehensive spirit, ingeniously to understand, and pass a solid sentence or judgement of what another speaketh. And as he must be quick of apprehension, so it is likewise necessary that he be crafty and subtile in searching and prying into the thoughts of Subjects, to the end he may understand what they desire, what they expect or hope for, and what their inclination binds them most unto. By which means, he will not only keep the Subject close to his lawful obedience, but also by knowing their intended conspira-

conspiracies, prevent the evil thereof. For, sometimes debauched Subjects aime at the destruction of sober solid persons ; induced thereunto, or rather seduced, by hate, malice, or insolency ; sometimes because they find themselves inferiour to others in riches, dignity or authority ; and sometimes because they imagine themselves to be inconsiderable, and of little or no esteem in the Kingdom, Republick, or State wherein Providence hath allotted them their being and residence : And so by these means, create war, and cause sedition, and reduce the State to an apparent hazard. In suppressing these commotions and cogitations of wicked men, he must be close and reserved, not dealing openly, or by direct opposition ; but rather by soft perswasion, kind admonition, earnest entreaty, or favourable chastisement, reduce them to a better temper, and furnish them with more honest principles. But, if he deal with a refractory stubborn people, he must menace them with authority, and terrifie them with severity, that so he may divert them from such execrable enterprises ; perpetually meditating on the conservation of the Commonwealth, which is consummated by his endeavour for the felicity of Subjects,

jects, and his extirpation of sedition and discord, with their efficient causes.

Aristotle saith, that a man may speak doubtfully upon any occasion twice, and be excused: but if he trip the third time, he is permitted to speak no more in that cause. Nor must he be tedious or prolix; for a long-winded Oration, cram'd with cart-rope speeches, longer than the memory of man can fathom, doth but talk them into dulness, and sooner stupifie their minds than quicken their attentions. And he must likewise suit his discourse to the capacity of his Auditory; for, he prodigals a Mine of Excellency (saith one of our Learned Gentlemen) that wasts a terse Oration to an ignorant assembly, where *Mercury* himself, were he Orator, would lose his labour. Therefore as his speech must not be over-long, (a fault that *Cesar* sometimes found *Cato* guilty of, and reproved him for) no more must it be obscured with enigmatical sentences, or intricate words, which puzzle the Auditors rather than profit them; and by labouring in the explication of the terms, make them forget the subject and matter of the discourse.

Now it importeth not much whether his
speech

speech be penn'd or rehearsed ; yet the reasons written are more solid, and penn'd with more diligence, if the matter require a long Oration.

His voice should be manly, promising of gravity, not effeminacy, clear and audible; not so low as cannot well be heard, nor so loud as to be term'd bawling.

And as he must be moderate in his speech, so it is requisite that he be of a temperate mind. Now, Nature hath so ordered it, that there is a kind of combate or contention between the mind and body of man, suspending and diverting his disposition from the true end of vertue. For, the alluring irrequiating lusts of the body do labour to oppress and enslave the mind; and the mind armed and fortified with reason, doth endeavour to resist and oppugn them: and that vertue of mind is called Temperance, which is employed in condemning all pleasures, especially those that are known by the senses, as Taste, and Touch; yet doth it not generally detest all pleasures, but only those that thwart vertue and reason. Now, some pleasures there are by nature lawful, and others unlawful; and both incident to the mind, as well as the body. The corporeal pleasures are bred

bred up and born with us, so that with difficulty are they restrained, especially in those men that take more delight and complacency in the exercises of the body than those of the mind, which renders them brutish and sensual. Therefore the body must submit to the checks and controulment of the mind, and by this means man may attain perfection. All Vertues conduce to the felicity of a Kingdom, but Temperance alone is the preservatrix of felicity; for it keeps the State from that infection which oftentimes ariseth from excess and immoderation, and hath subverted many famous Cities and Countries. Now every Senator ought to furnish the Kingdom with such Laws as may punish riot and excess, lest the Subject being poyson'd therewith, Covetousness spring up among them, the mother of all Vices. We read, that in *Rome* there were Laws and Ordinances made and enacted against excess both in expences and apparel. The Lacedemonians did also keep their feasts in publike places, that no man should dare to be wastful in the sight of other Citizens, and so encourage them to an imitation of their luxuriousness or extravagancy. Heretofore, the Magistrates of *Gallia Belgica* allowed

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lowed of no Law nor Custome that might make the people effeminate. And at this day, licentiousness and immoderate expenses are inhibited by Law in some parts of *Italy*. And since the lusts of men are insatiable, (as appears by *Cariline* and his fellow-conspirators, who being thriftless and licentious persons, attempted to make war against the Commonwealth) they must be held in with the bridle of the Law. And the Senator must be free from intemperancy, that so he may be an example for others to follow and imitate ; wherein let him take pattern by the severity of the *Censores*, who were the Masters and Tutors of civil temperance and modesty : and so by private admonition, as well as public castigation, he may withdraw them from intemperance. Nor is this vertue without her Concomitants, Modesty, Bashfulness, Honesty, and Continency. And by these, mans life is beautified, adorned, and made happy. Modesty (say the Stoicks) is a vertue that containeth the knowledge of decent speech and action. And whatsoever we speak or do, we ought to observe a mean, lest we expatiate on a subject more largely than necessity requires, forgetting the Counsel of *Solon*, Ne

quid

quid nimis. Wherefore tye your self to a comely *decorum* in all your words and actions, composing your countenance, eyes, gesture, motion, and your whole body to a modest posture, that the simplicity and integrity of your intentions may thereby be made manifest and apparent.

Bashfulness sometimes gains a man much commendation ; and this qualification renders a man honest, and induceth him to lead a good life, because in all actions it instructs how to avoid all reproach, obloquy, and villany. And as Justice forbids the wronging of a person by act or deed ; so Bashfulness teacheth a man not to be offended : for a good man doth not only voluntarily abstain from doing injury, but is, as it were, frightened from it by Bashfulness. Yet I mean not here, that Bashfulness that is frequent with young men, and Offenders, because they are compelled or constrained to that kind of shamefacedness ; and that perturbation of mind doth misbecome a grave and temperate person ; But that that we hunt after, ariseth from a vertuous disposition, and so gets a certain habit or exercise, accompanied with a fixed resolution to avoid all evill : so that if at any time through ignorance an error be

committed, we remain ashamed; which is commendable. *Julius Caesar* engaged with *Pompeius* the younger at *Corduba*, perceiving his men ready to retreat, and seek for refuge by their heels, steps out into the front, and there in person behaved himself manfully; which the Souldiers seeing, could not for shame but turn about, and face the enemy again; being, partly by the valour of their General, and partly by their own shamefacedness, instigated thereunto.

There is in man a certain natural instinct of honesty, prompting and spurring him on to the performance of all lawful actions, and diverting him from the perpetration of what is unlawful; which proceedeth from vertue; and therein her dignity resteth, though sometimes it ariseth from fame, glory and opinion. Now, he that through diligent observation understandeth what is meant by measure, order, and gravity, and observes this sweet *decorum* in his words and actions, making it his chiefest care not to think or speak any thing unseemly, effeminate, or licentious, may be termed honest; and the power of honesty is so great, that of it self it sufficeth to dissuade men from an ignominious life.

Among the number of virtues required in our Senator, Contineney & Abstinency challenge no mean place ; for, they not only condemn the *illecebæ*, or allurements of inordinate desires, but also withhold our eyes from beholding, or our hands from fastning on them. Nor is there a more noble spectacle, than to see men contented with what nature and industry hath allotted, without covering what appertains to others ; which they might easily do, did they but consider, that *Natura paucis contenta*: Nature will be satisfied with mean commons. *Paulus Aemilius* is highly extolled for his continency, who converted no part of the vast wealth that was brought out of *Macedonia* and *Spain* to his own private use, but delivered the whole into the publike Exchequer ; choosing rather to be termed poor, than branded with the name of deceitful : And after his expiration, his goods being sold under the Launce (*utimos erat*, according to custome) there was not left a sufficient competency for his Wife to live on. The example of *Scipio Africanus* is admirable, who in his greener years, at the taking of *Carthage*, being but twenty years old, had there (among many other captives) a Virgin of incomparable beauty,

beauty, yet did he not offer to deflower her, but gave her to a man unto whom she was formerly betrothed; and bestowed all that gold upon her for a dowry, which her friends offered for her redemption. We therefore judge it necessary that our Senator be continent, imitating *Pericles* in his advice to *Sophocles* his Associate, and Prætor at *Rome*; who fixing his eye on a beautiful Roman Damofel, whom they met accidentally in their way to the Senate-house, and being somewhat too large in her commendation; told him, that a Senator must not only keep hands free from corruption, but also chaste eyes, that cast no wanton glances, because they are grand instigations to lust. Wherefore, it was judged an act of discretion in *Cato* the Censor, to turn *Lucius Quintus Flaminius* out of the Senate for his incontinency; because he being Consul in *France*, permitted a common Strumpet, at her request, to strike a Prisoner that had his Sentence past, without offence. Nay, *Manlius* was devested of that dignity, for kissing his own Wife in the sight of his own Daughter. And *Salustius* for adultery, and light actions, was excluded from sitting (had it been so with us, *Henry Martin* had never rested so long
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in the Parliament-House.) I omit speaking of *Alexander* the Great, with many more, who by their continency gain'd no less honour than by their martial triumphs.

Now, it is most certain, that there is nothing brings more dishonour to the dignity of a Senator, than a leud, debauched, incontinent life; because it procureth private obloquy or reproach, and defaceth, or at least blemisheth the Majesty of commanding.

Sardanapalus spun out his daies among the Distaff-bearers, I mean women, consuming all his time in incontinent exercises, wasting both his internal and external substance upon wanton women, and the pleasing his gust; as appears by that Epitaph, which, living, he commanded to be engraven on his Tomb,

Ede, Bibe, Lude.

Which *Aristotle* chancing to spy, stopt, and read; and smiling, said, It was fitter to be fixed on the grave of an Oxe, than the Tomb of a Prince.

All pleasures that are not reduced to necessity and honesty, are reproachful; and

those above all, draw men to vice and uncleanness most, that are discerned by the touch and taste. Wherefore the Counsellor must be careful, that neither his own, nor the life of his Subjects, be implunged into the mire of voluptuousness and obscenity; which may be soon effected, by removing all occasions of intemperancy. The Lacedæmonians used to shew their drunken servants to their children, that they, beholding their sordidness and bestiality, might abhor the vice of excessive computation. But it were to be wished that we could follow, as well as read these instances. Great was the moderation and temperance of the Ancients in their diet; for, they lived not to eat, but did eat to live: Though in these our modern times the plague of intemperance is so epidemical, that more men are infected with, and perish thereby, than by the rage or fury of war; and it is the mode for them to drink other mens healths so long, till at last they drink away their own. Who would not then commend *M. Curium* the Roman Senator, that had rather the Embassadors sent by the Samnites should find him at a homely supper, quenching his thirst in a wooden Bowl, than surrounded or accommodated with all the variety
Nature

Nature or Art could afford? Nay, he refused the Gold they presented him with; saying, I had rather command those that are rich, than be rich. I need not mention *Fabricius*, *Fabius*, *Tubero*, *Cato* and *Scipio*, whose temperate and sober lives have eternized their names. *Hortensius* went not without a reproof, for presenting his Guests with a boyl'd Peacock, at a Supper prepared for the Augurs. And *Cassius* was thought intemperate, for drinking a little water in publike, and not enduring thirst for a small time. Yet do we not tye our Senator to so much strictness, but only to moderation in all things. *Duronius* was removed from the Senate, because that he being a Tribune, made null the Law for the restraint of feasting.

Surely, the Roman State was altogether happy in such Senators, that were not only Masters of Counsel, but Tutors of Vertue and good Manners. Now, that the people of *Rome* were temperate, even to admiration, may be conjectured from what is reported of them: when the presents which *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire*, after his overthrow, brought to *Rome*, were publickly shewn, hoping thereby to gain the good will of the People, there was not one
among

among them, that did so much as offer to stretch forth his hand to lay hold on any of them; so as that King saw himself twice vanquished at once, as well by continency, as force of arms. But, when excess found footing in *Rome*, after the victory obtained in *Asia*, and that the people began to wantonize through plenty and idleness; on a sudden, the civil discipline of Temperance and Parsimony was neglected; and in lieu thereof, Avaritiousness attended with a Legion of other vices, soon entred among the Roman Legions, and (if we may credit *Salust*) brought their City to a sad and lamentable Catastrophe. Nor indeed is there any thing that sooner works the ruine of King, Kingdom, and Subjects, than excess. *Diogenes* seeing a Bill upon the door of a Prodigals house, which shewed it was to be let; said, I knew very well that House was so full of meat and wine, that ere long it would vomit out the Master. Now 'tis most certain, that immoderate pampering, and excessive drinking, wasteth the strength of the body, and prejudiceth the mind. Notable is that Law of *Solon*, whereby that Senator was thought to deserve death, that was addicted to the vice of drunkenness.

Philip

Philip the Macedonian King being overcome with drink, past sentence upon a woman : she forthwith made her appeal ; and being demanded to whom, replied, To *Philip* being sober. And without doubt, excess in drinking depraves the judgement of man ; insomuch , that Kings are made Slaves, old Folks become Children, Wise men are infatuated and made fools, and fools turned to mad men. But our Senator shall observe the old rule :

———Μέτρον δ' ἐνὶ πάντιν ἄριστον.

A *medium* is to be observed in all things : we must eat and drink for necessity, not satiety ; following the advice of the Poet *Anacharsis*, who usually said, The first draught was of necessity, the second of superfluity, and the third of madness. Besides, it were unseemly in a Counsellor to have bloud-shot eyes, a furious countenance, and a stammering speech ; all which imperfections are the customary attendants of drunkenness : Nor will it become him, overcome with meat or drink, to snore away the night, but only to use both with so much moderation, as that they may only continue health, and make the body agile
and

and fit for action. For, by moderate diet we find, not only the mind, but the body more submissive and obedient; when as satiety and excess is the sepulchre of the one, and the corruption of the other. We find *Troy* to be ruined through the excess of the Inhabitants; when as otherwise it might have stood to this day :

Invadunt urbem somno, vinoque sepuliam.

But, although we discommend excess in both, as a thing misbecoming, and very hainous; yet our Senator must be sure not to be avaricious, niggardly, and close-fisted, because it is an argument of a base servile spirit, to debar himself of that comeliness and order that is required in the Family of such a person. Therefore private excess must be banished, and publike magnificence maintained; and as needless and superfluous delicacy is to be avoyded much more than penury and niggardliness; And, as immoderate expences are known to be prejudicial both to the Estate, Body, and Mind: so necessary and convenient fare is both comly and wholesome; and this must be observed with respect to the place, time and persons. For, we read, that

L. Tu-

L. Tubero making a publike Feast, covered all his beds with the skins of Kids; and in so doing was judged indiscreet, and ignorant in the knowledge of what appertained to publike honour and dignity; and for this same fact, lost the Office of *Prætor*. Notable was that quip that a Duke bestowed upon a Prince, to this purpose; who with his noble retinue being invited to a Collation, the Prince altogether ignorant of any mode used at Court, or indeed common civility, suffered them to be seated without cushions; which the Duke perceiving, put his Cloak under him in lieu thereof; and all his followers in imitation of him, did the same; and after their repast, left their Cloaks upon the stools, and were departing: at which the Prince somewhat amazed, told them, they forgot their cloaks: No, no, replied the Duke, an't please your Majesty, it is not our custom to be so uncivil, as to carry our Cushions along with us: then did he begin to understand the mistake, and went away ashamed. Next to Temperance, Justice is a Vertue to be very much followed by our Senator; of which in the next Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Of Justice and her concomitants, which our Senator ought to be adorned with.

Nature hath made all things in themselves good, certain, perfect, and in all respects absolute; which was the reason that induced the Stoick to believe, that to live according to Nature was the chief felicity of man: for, Nature is the Conductrix & Tutorefs of perfect life, instructing us in our obedience to the Author thereof. Now, this harmony of Nature may be fitly called Justice; for, this is that Vertue (and indeed *Regina Virtutum*, the Queen of all Vertues) which labours in defence of the Law, and preservation of the consent of Nature; since whatsoever complies with Nature, is Just; and what dissenteth, unjust. Such men therefore, that follow the dictates of Nature, are just; being it is contrary to Nature to think ill either of God or Man. Whereupon Justice is of three sorts, (though there be many subdivisions) Natural, Humane, and Divine.

The

The first foundation of Justice natural, proceeds from Nature her self; which informs us to do as we would be done by: *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*. This natural equity commandeth us to abstain from doing injury, or offending of any person whatsoever. And by this ligament, men are conglutinated or co-united with a mutual affection and bond of amity. In that Age, which is known by the name of *Ætas aurea*, among the Poets; by the help of natural Justice only, deceit, fraud, or injury had no residence upon Earth; they were *non-entia*, no such things to be found in Nature. Then was there no sedition, tumults, or hatred; but benevolence, fidelity, true love, and real affection. The Lawyers Profession was not in use, pleading and wrangling was unknown to them; for, equity and Justice determined all things, and all things were common; every man thought that his own goods did belong as much to his neighbour as to himself. They that lived in that Age were enforced and confined to vertue and honesty, because they knew not vice, and by natural instinct were stimulated to the exercise of Justice. Of this happy time *Ovid* sings most excellently.

*Aurea prima sata est ætas, quæ vindice nullo,
Sponte suâ, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat;
Pœna, metusque aberant, nec supplex turba time-
Judicis orasui, sed erant sine iudice tuti. (bat*

But, as soon as the Sun of truth declined, and began to be obscured with the caliginous mists of vice; immediately the minds of men were depraved, and they headlong without fear or wit implunged themselves into an Ocean of filtniness. Then every man shielded himself against Vertue, quite contrary to his former principles; but afterwards it was a practice among them, lawful, to scandalize and prejudice all persons, whether in goods, or good name; to lead a brutish, inhumane life; abuse that excellent gift of Reason, and employ it in the exercise of vice; as the same Poet hath it,

*Protinus erupit venæ peioris in ævum
Omne nefas, fugere pudor, verumque, fidesque,
In quorum subiere locum, fraudesque, dolique,
Insidiaque, & vis, & amor sceleratus habendi.*

And surely that deluge of impiety had over-run the whole race of mankind, had
nor

not the force of nature and reason in some few, opposed, and stood as a trench against the fury of this inundation. That small residue of men (proclaiming war against vice) did so work upon them (that lived like brutes) by perswasion, as to reduce them to humanity; informing them how to live, not only by words, but also by works; what Civility, Vertue, and Honour was, and what was the original of Laws in Cities and Countries: so that hereby they might be instructed in those things that were good, honest, and civill. From hence the precepts of vertue took their original, and vast volumes of the duty and manners of men were composed. This consideration of humane nature and the Universe, was epitomized in one word by the Grecians, viz. *Σοφία*, or wisdom; and the Authors thereof were termed *Σοφοί*, or Wisemen, who afterwards (according to the example of *Pythagoras*,) named themselves Philosophers. And by this means the light of humane reason and nature, that was benighted with the clouds of vice, did resume its pristine lustre and splendor, and endowed us with the knowledge of divine and humane things; which knowledge is called Philosophy. Thus was that golden

H world

world restored. Now, that duty which natural Justice prompts us to observe to our Parents, is called Piety; which was the reason, that *Aeneas* by the *Homer* of our Latine Poets was styled Pious *Aeneas*. The Daughter of *Cimon* was adorned with this Vertue; for she fed her Father with her own milk, being condemned to die, and thereby did eternize her name. This Justice doth also oblige us to nourish and cherish all persons in distress; defend and govern himself: for, he that by wilful obstinacy destroys himself by famine, negligence, or violent death, is judged an enemy, and no friend to Nature. By this Justice natural, we are engaged to relieve and refresh our necessitated friends and neighbours, and by generation to propagate posterity; which is called *nodosa aeternitas*: propagation is a knotty Eternity; for, by the issue of our loyns we do as it were tye a knot, and thereby lengthen our name and family. *Socrates* defineth this natural Justice thus: It is the Science of good and evill according to nature; which that man that exercises, deserves the term of a good man; and if he communicate it to others, the title of a good Citizen; because then he is not only beneficial to himself, but to others

others also. They that Nature hath been so prodigal unto, as to bestow singular gifts, and incomparable endowments on, ought to transcend all others in this natural Justice, as much as they do in their natural parts; otherwise they will have but a mean repute (if any at all) in the world.

The next is Justice divine; whereby we are obliged and bound to acknowledge, love, honour, reverence, adore, and worship God: And it hath pleased Nature to implant this knowledge in man; as it thereby she would intimate unto us, that all other creatures do only feed and pamper their bodies, whenas Man should aime at a more noble marke, *viz.* the Deity. Nor is there any people upon earth but adore some God or other, and hold it a duty incumbent upon every one of them so to do. Now all the substance and force of this Justice is contained in Religion, which is the worship of God. But being that is a different subject from what we intend to expatiate on, we shall leave the prosecution thereof to the Clergy.

Humane Justice, which is also termed sometimes civil, is of an obscure and hidden nature; for, although it receive its

being from Justice natural, and therefore the precepts and use thereof carry little or no seeming difficulty along with them : yet is it not truly conceived, unless it be by such who are either endued with a kind of divine nature, or have been employed in all sorts of vertue. For, this Vertue requireth a ^{ne} learned, Wise man, who reasonably, constantly and voluntarily practiseth it. And such our Senator should be.

All civil Justice consists, partly in the preservation of humane society, and is partly exercised in a Court of Judicature. This Vertue approveth of no unlawful, cruel, or barbarous action ; but embraceth honesty, tranquillity and peace ; endeavouring to keep men from sedition, malice, and enmity ; not coveting *aliena bona* ; but, *unicuique suum tribuens* ; gives every one their due. By this Vertue our Counsellor becomes a defender of the common people ; the Protector of the innocent and Orphans ; and a debaser of the proud and haught : a Lover of those that are good, a friend to truth, and an enemy to vice, and consequently to vicious persons. The foundation of this Vertue is fidelity ; which *Cicero* defines to be a constant and true performer of promise. A just Senator therefore

therefore affirms the truth, sticks close to his promise; standeth to compacts; restoreth what he borrows; and is not compelled to be faithfull by Law, testimony, or oath, but by his own free will and conscience; labouring to keep under injustice, and to see that the weaker sort be not overpowred by the stronger; that might overcome not right. Valiant men, in his judgement, deserve to be crowned with reward; and idle, puny-spirited subjects, the lash of punishment; and by these two, punishment and preferment, the benefit of a Commonwealth is infinitely promoted. In the distribution of offices, he is directed by the rule of uprightness and equity; hating to be greaz'd in the fist with bribery, reputing those worthy of most ample honour, who can lay claim to the greatest merit. Which is a thing to be very much insisted on in a Kingdom, or Republick; because, *Honos virtutes premium*, Honour is the reward of vertue; and as due to a deserving person, as wages to an hired servant: which was the reason, that wrought the Antients to erect stately Images, triumphal Arches; and publike sepulchres, open commendation, and the like, were conferred on men of service and desert. Now they that are

nobly educated, vertuously enclined, grave and ancient, deserve honour and reverence; and that either by bowing the head or body, in giving them place : And, as goods are of three sorts, viz. goods of the mind, goods of the body, and goods of Fortune; so they are all in conferring of honour to be respected. Therefore those of the mind assume the first place; those of the body the next, and those of Fortune the last, as the meanest in value and worth, though now adaies of most esteem in the eye of the World. All these things our Senator must be skill'd in; and in the distribution of offices, and conferring of honours, he must observe equality, the balance of Justice; wherewith every mans manners, vertues and actions are poized and examined. In which he must be very circumspect and unbyassed, lest he prove partial, leaning to one side more than another; and so come off with the term of an unequal Judge. For, he that bestows honour, and accumulates favours upon the undeserving, doth a manifest injury to those that can plead desert; and so by consequence is an unjust Judge. Wherefore Philosophers give us a definition of this justice, as followeth : It is an habit of the mind destined to common

mon utility; giving honour to every person that may be judged worthy of it. And among those vertues that plead for an interest in humane society, equality is neither the last, nor the least; the exercising the office of a Handmaid or Lady of honour to that Queen of Vertues, Justice: Nor doth she remove a hairs-breadth from her, but sticks close to her principles and precepts. Now this equality in just pondering and weighing things, and persons, useth a double manner of proceeding; the one ordinary, and the other common; one judging by number, weight, and measure; the other more difficile and secret, that is, weighing every thing by reason and judgement. Which knowledge is only attained by wise men, and those that are exercised in great affairs, and matters of importance and weight; and the other by those that are chiefly employed in barrating, buying and selling. Let our Senator be skill'd in that knowledge that proceeds from reason and judgement, that he may thereby understand how to distribute offices, confer honours, bestow gifts, what is due to every person, just, good, and indifferent in all things, persons, and places. This equality is an excellent qualification, and of emi-

nent use and service in a Kingdom. And where Counsellors are ignorant therein, we find but raw and weak consultation, and all things managed at randome, without any thing of certainty ; to the disturbance of publike society.

Another kind of justice there is, which is commonly called justice forraign, not much unlike this before mentioned, chiefly conversant about judgement ; whose foundation is the Law, and whose prop or support is the judgement of wise, solid, discreet Senators. Before such time (as is already mentioned) that written Laws were found out, each man was his own Legislator, and prescribed his own peculiar Laws, not diving into the books of Law-makers or Doctors for precepts or instructions : For, then that pure and immaculate Virgin Justice had her residence in the mind of man, dictating unto him Laws and Precepts, whereby he led an upright life, without exercising any fraud, deceit or collusion. But, as soon as men, tired with the strict discipline of justice, began to covet their neighbours goods, offer injuries, and neglect the restauration of what they had taken up upon credit ; immediately hate, dissimulation, enmity and war sprung up :

up, and gave way to the invention of martial weapons, as well offensive as defensive; and that in so furious a manner, as might force Justice, nay, compel *Jupiter* himself to give place: thus, as sweet-tongued *Ovid* sings,

— *Terras Astræa reliquit.*

She made her self wings, and flew to heaven for sanctuary, where ever since she hath taken up her habitation. And hence it is that we have recourse to heaven in our daily Orizons for justice. *Homer* used to term Kings inspired with the wisdom of good Government, Sons of *Jupiter*: and we style them, Gods Vicegerents. And since reason cannot prevail with us so far, as thereby to lead a quiet, peaceable, and just life; we must have recourse to justice; who by her Laws admonisheth, corrects, and honours us, preparing rewards for good, and storing up punishments for evil actions. This justice (according to *Ulpianus*) is a constant desire, or fixed resolution to bestow upon every man that which of right belongs unto him. Now the ordaining and enacting of Laws, appertains to a Counsellor, as the most discreet person, and

fit for that office. And *Plato* teacheth, that these things are to be observed in constituting Laws, A&ts, or Ordinances. The Legislator must enact them with a paternal love, that may cause a reciprocation of filial duty: not with a Lordly, tyrannical intent, yet framing them to the terror of malefactors, who neither regard Law, nor reason; according to that known Hexameter,

Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas.

My will is the only Law that I own or acknowledge. Besides, he must be iure that his Laws contain no more prescription of commands, than discipline of manners; that the severity of the one may be mitigated by the gentleness of the other. And the intent and end of all Law is, that men may be felicitated thereby, as far as comes within the compass of humanity; and that offenders may receive a punishment futable to their crimes, of necessity, and not on set purpose: which moved *Justinian* to make a triple division of legal precepts: To live honestly, prejudice no man, and give to every one his due. He therefore that doth abandon the Law, and follows

follows the dictates of his own corrupt will, condemning the Statutes of a Kingdom, is guilty of a notorious crime, as well as he that denies God, Nature, or Reason. *Heracitus*, that stream'd away his time in tears, was wont to say, That all men were as deeply engaged to defend their Laws, as the walls of their City; and his reason was, because that a wall-less City might be preserved, but a Lawless one could never, by all the strength of humane invention. For by Laws they expel idleness, the mother of Vice, which renders the mind effeminate, and makes it grow wanton. *Cato* said as truly, as pithily, *Nihil agendo, male agere didicerunt*: By doing nothing, the people learn'd to do ill. *Diodorus* mentions a certain Law that was among the Egyptians, whereby every Subject was compelled to give in his name to the Magistrates, withall declaring what kind of life he most affected, how he lived, and what Art he exercised: And if he were found to give a false account of his life, he was put to death. *Draco* seeing the Citizens wasteful, made a Law, that he that was found idle should be executed; which being too severe and rigid, *Solon* did qualify, punishing that offence with infamy only.

only. By the imperial Law it is provided, that idle, sloathful, and thrifless Subjects be either whipt to death, or enslaved. In every Kingdom there are certain exercises both for peace and war : Some are bred up Clergy-men, Counsellors, and Judges; others, Captains, Commanders, and Soldiers : that so the Kingdom may be furnished with Subjects in Peace or War, and by their actions the Country may be defended from the invading enemy, and her Territories or skirts enlarged. Nor must Laws be often altered ; for, as soon as the people perceive any mutation, their minds being prone to innovation, they presently desire all the rest be changed and subverted ; though sometimes necessity requires that they be corrected or reformed. The least mutation in a Kingdom, is of dangerous consequence, breeding a contempt of Laws, and sedition also. Wherefore the *Locrenses* had a Law, that if any man did invent a new Law, he should propose it to the people in publike, with a halter about his neck ; to the end, that if it were judged pernicious or unprofitable, he should be forthwith hang'd, as an Author of evil. And it doth very much concern Princes and Counsellors to walk according to those

those Laws they ordain ; for it is odious to be *Legislator*, & *Legis violator* ; a Law-maker, and a Law-breaker : for there is nothing that Subjects so much look upon, as the lives of their Superiors.

Regis ad exemplum totius componitor orbis.

All Nations, all the World over, follow the example of a King : which if he steer his actions according to Justice, finds Subjects obedient and loyal, who will keep close to their allegiance. *Seleucus* made a Law, that whosoever was taken in adultery should be deprived of both his eyes. Afterwards his Son was found guilty of that Crime : his Subjects went to mediate, desiring him to sign his pardon ; but their suit prevailed no otherwise, then that first he caused one of his Sons eyes to be put out, and then one of his own ; that so the severity and reputation of Law might be observed, and that the force thereof might be in more esteem than the authority of men. The ends why Laws were ordained, were two : The one, that men may understand Justice, and have entertainment among them ; the other, that it may continue. The first, is the duty of the Law-maker,

maker, who frameth the people in the mould of Vertue. And the second is the Office of the Judge, who is to suppress the exorbitancies of offenders, and preserve the rights and priviledges of his Country. Now it often falls out, that dubious businesses, and those matters of concernment too, are brought before a Judge; expecting his determination. Wherefore he must reduce that to equality, which he thinketh unequal: not unlike a line cut into unequal parts, and that part which is found too long is cut shorter, and so added to the other: So doth the Judge, who is the Living Law and Oracle of the Kingdom. Nor must he pass a sentence upon any matter, or decide any cause, before he hath heard both Plaintiff and Defendant, and examined all their Witnesses: For, as *Seneca* hath it most excellently,

*Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera;
Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.*

He must be voyd of all passion, hate, or partiality: one that scorns bribery, will not be daunted with menaces, or threatned out of the truth, or moved by the subtilty of adulation: for, where a Judge, Magistrate,

strate, or Senator is subject to passion, there is little, or indeed no Justice in his Judicature: nor is there any one thing that poysons a Commonwealth or Kingdom more, then corrupt and unjust Magistrates.

Justice of old was by Philosophers painted like a beautiful Virgin, having a severe grave countenance, penetrating eyes, a chaste look, inclining to gravity: which Image carries this representation, that Judges ought to be incorrupt, chaste, severe, sharp-witted, good, grave, constant and inexorable. *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, caused the skin of an unjust Judge to be flea'd, and hung up in the Court, as a terror to all those that were unjust in their sentence. *Solon* being demanded, How a Kingdom might best be preserved; answered, By the Peoples obedience to Superiour authority, and the Magistrates subscription to the Law. And *Bias* used to say, That place was most secure, where men stood in awe of the Law, no less than of a Tyrant. It is a shame and reproach to a Nation to have Laws, that like the Spiders web, entangle the weak and simple, and let the strong and mighty escape. Which our Senator must very diligently observe, and continually provide that the Laws be preserved inviolable.

Justice

Justice admits of another division among Moral Philosophers, and that is Distributive and Commutative. Justice Distributive, is that that respects equality in the distribution of reward or punishment, according to Geometrical proportion. For, as there are several degrees of crimes and offences perpetrated by the impious; so there are likewise of the merits of deserving and vertuous persons; In regard that the circumstances of persons, places, and time, do oftentimes aggravate the crime. As for instance; He that offends a Magistrate, deserves a higher punishment than he that offends a private person: And he that commits an insolency in the Church during divine service, or in Court before a Judge sitting upon the Bench, must be more severely corrected, than if these circumstances did not accompany the fault. And in like manner, the different conditions of men in the distribution of recompences, or conferring of honours, must be narrowly considered and pried into.

Wherefore it is apparent, that in the distribution of honour, as well as in the inflicting of punishment, this Geometrical proportion must be observed; because that by this means we observe the same
propor-

proportion between persons, as we do between things; and though there be an inequality of measure, yet will there be an equality of reason. As thus: He that hath a double share of merit, twice as much as another man, deserves a double recompence according to the Geometrical proportion, which differs from the Arithmetical, observed in Justice Commutative: for the latter respects the equality of quantity, and things distributable, without regard to the merits or demerits of a person.

Justice Commutative is that that looks upon equality and faith in contracts, bargains, humane commerces and negotiations; as buying, selling, borrowing, and the like. As for example; the same sort of wine, oyl, corn, cloath, or other vendible commodities, is sold to a Magistrate as well as to a Mechanick. But now let us come to her Concomitants.

And first of Piety; by which we please God, and get repute among men. *Numa Pompilius*, to get credit by the Religion that he framed for the Romans (counterfeiting Piety) induced them to believe that he and his Wife *Ageria* used to convene with the Gods in a certain place consecrated to

Camena, and there did receive the Laws and Religion the Romans were to follow : so that they that neither by the softness of perswasion, nor the violence of compulsion could be reduced to Religion ; by a counterfeit colour of Piety were brought to be very religious. And if so among them, how will the true Religion prevail among us that are Christians ? Yet in Religion two things are to be declined, *viz.* heresie and superstition ; which vices pervert weak instable persons. There is likewise a certain kind of Piety due to Parents, by which we obey, reverence, and respect them.

Innocency is another of her Associates ; which Vertue affects simplicity, abhorring dissimulation and hypocrisie ; wherefore, fawning Sycophants, that Dog-like will *Προσκυνησιν*, fall down under your feet, and seem to adore you ; Dissemblers, that hold with the hare, and run with the hound ; carry fire in one hand, and water in the other ; and tale-bearers, that are *rimarum pleni*, full of chinks, no sooner a secret can be committed to their keeping, but it drops from them like water through a sieve ; such persons are to have no place in the Catalogue of our Senators. And as

no man might have admittance into the Temple of *Ceres Elucina*, but he that was innocent; there being this Superscription over the Portal, *Let no man enter but he that knoweth his own innocency*: So into holy Council, which is the Temple of Justice and Truth, let no man have admittance, but he that is innocent, and of integrity. His mind must be open and sincere, not obscure or deceitful, saying one thing, and meaning another; his thoughts and his words must be Relatives; his tongue must be the true interpreter of his mind; and his face not throwed with a fained disguise, but full of natural sincerity.

Courteous he must be; for an affable debonaire disposition will scrue it self into the good will of all men. He must hear with patience, and reply with discretion; free from all sowerness and insolency in words or action.

Benignity is another thing necessary; for as God is kind and gentle to us, so must we manifest our selves to those that are a sphere below us. He must therefore be gentle, mild, and of a sweet disposition: not austere, supercilious; and as *Timon* was, *Μισάνθρωπος*, A man-hater. For as to the Moderator of all things, Religion and Piety

is due; so is love and benevolence unto men.

Next, Clemency; which properly appertains to Magistrates, and men in authority; for by vertue hereof, the heat of their displeasure towards Malefactors is abated, and they themselves qualified. Her opposite is Cruelty, and bitter extremity in punishment; a quality proper to Tyrannical and inhumane persons. *Draco* was so rigid and severe, nay (I may say) cruel, that he inflicted death upon idle persons, as well as Murderers; and being askt the reason, replied, because he thought that punishment due for the commission of a petty offence; and for those of a higher nature, he could not invent any great enough. But *Scipio* much more clement and pitiful, could say, That he had rather be instrumental to the saving of the life of one single Citizen, than to the slaughter of 1000 Enemies. And indeed for a Magistrate to be perpetually punishing, is as reproachful, as to see Physicians alwaies killing their Patients with their Quacksalving and Emperical tricks. Besides, Clemency in a Governour creates a kind of bashfulness or fear of offending in any person. Yet Clemency must be so used, as that severity, if need be, must not be altogether

together neglected : for no Country can be well governed without it, by reason of the different dispositions of men ; for a harsh word strikes deeper with some, than a shrewd punishment with others. Over-much clemency was an imperfection that the Stoicks would have all wise men to want ; alledging, that it was an argument of an ignoble mind, condescending and subscribing to the guilt of other mens crimes and offences : and therefore such men may be assimilated to fond foolish women, that would have Malefactors freed from the lash and rigour of the Law, because Crocodile-like, after the commission of an hainous offence, they can drop a deceitful tear.

Next, Liberality. Among some of those Vertues that were constellated in *Scipio Africanus*, this is not the least ; that before his return from any place, he obliged some person or other to him by his liberality.

The Son of *Titus Vespasianus* was wont to say, That that day wherein he had not bestowed some benefit, was utterly lost. Now in giving, these two things are observable ; to forget the benefits we bestow, and remember perfectly what we have received : for ingratitude is a black crime ; In-

gratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris; Name but Ingratitude, and you epitomize all crimes in a word.

Magnificence is the next concomitant of Justice; which Vertue consisteth in large expences, and great gifts; differing from Liberality in this only, that the one is employed in small and mean, the other in large gifts. Now it is observable, that Magnificent men usually erect Churches, build Cities, Towns, and Villages, and employ themselves about such things as may either redound to the glory of the Creator, or else augment the fame of the Author. And though Parcimony be judged a noble revenue, yet must not our Senator be so penurious, as altogether to forget liberality, or Magnificence; and so degenerate into Covetousness, which is a malady incurable: which as *Salust* hath it, doth effeminate both body and mind: Delighting it self in two things, giving nothing, and receiving much: and yet excess must be avoided; so that the middle way is best. The advice of *Apollo* to his unsatisfied Son *Phaeton* is very good,

— *Medio tutissimus ibis.*

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Therefore that no man might exceed a becoming moderation in expences, it was provided by a Law at *Rome*, that no Senator should be indebted above a certain sum of money prescribed. Which order was taken, to remove excess and superfluity in expences. *P. Rufinus* was deposed by the Censors for having 10 *l.* weight in Silver. And *Æmilius Lepidus* having spent 6000 *l.* in building a house, was deposed of his Senatorship. So strict were the ancient Romans, lest the Senators excess should move the Plebeians to the same superfluity. Yet we allow a Senator far more liberty than so; for, our Laws do not so narrowly confine them.

Next, Friendship; which is absolutely necessary: for, since man is a civil person, and a lover of society, he cannot be destitute of other mens conversation; from hence, as from a source or foundation, all amity, marriage, or consanguinity doth flow: And he that endeavours to deprive a Kingdom of united friendship, doth in a manner snatch the Sun out of the firmament. Friendship is of an uniting or congregating quality; for as cold congeals a multitude of waters into one cake of Ice, so Friendship makes of many one; which is

by *Laelius* defined to be a perfect consent of things divine and humane, in all love, charity, and affection. Yet are we not to entertain any person at the first sight (*prima facie*, as we say) as a friend; we must first, according to our Proverb, eat a bushel of salt with them, that so we may dive into their disposition, and know what metal they are made of. It is the opinion of the Philosophical Tribe, that that amity is most sure, and best grounded, that is nourished by similitude of temper; for where mans delight is one and the same, his affection cannot be divers. Such friends were *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; *Orestes* and *Pylades*; *Damon* and *Pythias*, with many more that might be mentioned. The friendship of the two last was so great, that *Dionysius* did earnestly desire to make a third person, that so there might be a Trinity of friends linked together with the ligament of love. Few friends are best; and the reason is, because perfect friendship is inconsistent with multiplicity of persons: and indeed they that delight to associate themselves with many, are not accounted friends, but sociable; for it is one thing to be a lover of conversation, and courteous in the entertainment of all persons; and another thing

to be a friend to one whom we make a constant companion, one who is the Manuscript wherein we write all our secrets. *Epaminondas* was heard to use this expression frequently, That a man should not leave the Court till he made an addition to the number of his old friends by gaining of a new one; but this observation tends more to the obtaining of the common good will of men, than perfect friendship. Now true friendship requires three things.

First, Vertue, from which we must never swerve; Next, Pleasure, which proceeds from familiarity and sweet conversation, stealing away the tediousness of melancholy hours. For, *amici fures temporis*. And lastly, Profit; whereby one real friend may accommodate another with necessities, when stimulated by that Tyrant necessity. Though it be the custome of the World to fawn upon a person that abounds with the affluence of all terrene comforts, and hath high and mountain'd fortunes; but when he is at a low ebb, then they usually forsake him with a *Benedicite*, or God help you. Nor can you try a real friend better, than in the kick of malignant chance: Then, if he deserves that name, he will stick close to you; if not, scott
at

at your meanness. Well might the Satyrift say,

*Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.*—

As if the Poor man were but fortunes Dwarf, (saith one excellently) made lower than the rest of men, to be laugh'd at. Yet, if any thing that is unjust be requested by one friend of another, it is his duty to dissuade, rather than encourage him. *Pericles* being desired by a friend to assist him by bearing false witness; replied like a Christian more than a Pagan, *Tuus sum usque ad aras*; I am yours to do you any courtesie that comes within the limits of my power, as far as Religion gives me leave: intimating thereby, that he would aid his friend so far as justice, equity, or divinity would permit, and no farther. Now by the concatenation of amity, and co-union of Senators, the Kingdom is as it were linked together, and so strengthened. Whenas, who can expect concord or mutual love between Subjects, when Magistrates are disagreeing and at variance? *Aristides* and *Themistocles* were enemies, yet whensoever they went out on publike Embas-

Embassage or Commission, being arrived at the borders of the Athenian Land, there they laid down all contention and former enmity; though after their return home they did often renew their old grudge and displeasure. To forget injuries received, is a noble part, and an argument of a royal spirit.

Out of Friendship ariseth Concord, which is nothing but civil amity: and a conspiracy or plot among all degrees of men to maintain Liberty, Law, Justice, Fidelity, Religion and Quietness in a Kingdom. Wherefore the Senate of *Rome* did usually sit in the House of Concord, to demonstrate thereby, that in Council nothing should pass contentiously. *Agefilaw*, King of *Lacedemonia*, being asked why *Sparta* was not environed with walls; informed the Questionist, that the Citizens lived united; and shewing him the men, said, Behold the walls of *Sparta*. *Scilurus* blest with a numerous off-spring, fourscore Sons, before he expired, produced a bundle of arrows, and bid them break them all at once: they replied, It was absolutely impossible: then took he the arrows from them one by one, and so brake them all; thereby exhorting his Children to live in concord,

concord, for so they might be invincible and happy ; whenas otherwise they would be ruinated and disperfed.

In like manner *Mycypsa*, King of *Numidia*, being on his death-bed, assembled all his Children, and left them this golden Sentence as a Legacy : *By concord the smallest inconsiderable things encrease ; but the greatest and most considerable by discord come to confusion.*

Hospitality is a companion to Friendship and Concord, which entertains strangers as well as friends, with courtesie and affability ; which Vertue redounds very much to a mans credit and reputation. The priviledges belonging thereunto are so considerable, that the Romans observed the performance of the rights thereof even to their very enemies ; and would never joyn in battel with them, till such time as the Prisoners to whom they were indebted for food, were manumitted. *Plato* understanding that it was impossible to reduce his Commonwealth to a happy condition by any other way but amity, concord, or hospitality ; brought down all Laws and Customs to friendship, making all things common, that so mutual society and love might be conserved ; affirming withal, that

that that brace of words, *Meum* and *tuum*, were like a pair of Engines framed on purpose to unhinge the whole World.

Now, since it is manifest, that man, whilst he lives, floats in a turbulent Sea of vexations and misfortunes, subject to perils as considerable for their number as their weight; and that we must overcome them by patient suffering, or manfully revenge them; we must next discourse of Fortitude, which is able to supply us with weapons to defend us against the assaults of the mind and fortune. A Life free from the intermixture of discontent, is aimed at by all, but impossible to be obtained by any: for Nature hath so ordained it, that care, trouble and molestation is interwoven with the web of our life; so that as our more gross part, the body, is burthened with labour and toyl; so our more spiritual part, the mind, is disquieted with discontented imaginations. Nor indeed can we tell how to relish Vertue, unless we first taste of discontent; for, the clouds of sorrow being overblown (like rest after labour) the fruit of felicity is much more delightful and pleasing. Vertue is not a Lady that loves to smother her self in down, and lie at her ease;

Petit ardua virtus :

But she affects industry, triumphing in the midst of most imminent danger : which made *Hercules* forsake the path of pleasure, because it was wide, broad, and easie to be traced ; and turn into the way of Vertue, whereunto the passage is hard, and the ascent difficult. Nor must we only despise all labours and difficulty in ascending the Pyramid of Vertue ; but when we are possessed therewith, we must with far more courage and magnanimity endure all calamities, sorrows and afflictions. Now there is no misfortune, how great soever, but she can withstand, and with her own power overcome. This excellency of mind is called Fortitude, an affection that submits to Vertue by constant and patient suffering. The nature and substance of Prudence, Justice, and Temperance, is soft and effeminate without Fortitude : for it is their property to think and act only ; but the quality of this Vertue is to think and execute constantly, manfully, and valiantly. All commendation due to Fortitude, consisteth in Domestical, and Publike or Military actions. Domestical Fortitude adorns a Man;

Man; and her quality is to remove all perturbation of mind, Fear, Sorrow, Anger, Voluptuousness, and every other exorbitant affection. Fortitude Military consists in undergoing all perils and dangers, all labour and hardship, that so a man may be able to look death in the face, if his country or a good cause require it. He must look to lie sometimes at the signe of the Star, and have his bed feathered with the down of Heaven; lie down a Man, and rise a Snow-ball; gnaw Match, instead of Liquorish; He must fear nothing; contemn all worldly things, and be resolved to suffer whatsoever can befall him.

Moreover, it is the duty of our Senator to be so courageously affected and disposed, that all his gifts of body and mind be as with a certain sauce seasoned with Fortitude; for, as without salt all meats, so all Vertues without Fortitude are judged unfavoury. This is that which defendeth both body and mind from the cruel shock of misfortune. This is that which renders us quiet and peaceable in Prudence, constant in Temperance, and stout, valiant and invincible in Justice. Yet is there something to be declined in this Vertue; as being fool-hardy, proud, rash, timorous, sloath-

ful, or puny-spirited ; For, he that intends to gain the reputation of valiant, must be pricked forward by no other spur than Glory, Renown, or Vertue ;

—*Immensam gloria calcar habet.*

He must follow the conduct of no other Captain but Reason, and not be led up by Chance, Hazard, or Desperation ; alledging that rash piece of Poetical fury for his excuse,

una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

The People of *Numantia* chose rather to be massacred, than yield to the merciful enemy ; and the Saguntines were guided by the same Precepts : but we must never act any thing desperately. Well might that Roman *Demosthenes Cicero* say, *Injustissimam pacem bello justissimo antefero* ; I prefer the most unjust Peace before the most just War. Now he that despairs, flees from Fortitude ; and it is an argument of a dunghil-spirit, to seek death by shewing the heel through fear and pusillanimity. But a valiant man despiseth life judiciously, fighteth stoutly ; not as one destitute of all

all hope ; but, because he is grounded on this perswasion, that it becomes him so to deport himself : which moves him rather to choose an honourable death, than blur his life with the stain of reproach. This Vertue hath many Concomitants, which with some other qualifications shall be the subject of the ensuing Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of Fortitude and her Concomitants, as Magnanimity, Constancy, Patience, Confidence, &c.

THIS Vertue, as is before mentioned, wants not her retinue of other Vertues. And first, Magnanimity, which makes a man aspire to honour and dignity ; and yet by the help of vertue, imitating *Marcellus*, who consecrated a Temple to Honour out of the spoils of *Syracusa*, making the access thereunto through the House of Vertue near adjoyning ; perswading himself, that there was no possible way of catching at honour, to a mans credit and reputation, but by the aid and assistance of Vertue. This will support him, as bladders

ders do a young swimmer, from being implunged into despair when he floats upon the waters of affliction. The same of *Godrus* shall live till the conflagration of the World, who for the preservation of his Souldiers and Country, offered up himself a sacrifice. *Curtius* and *Scaevola* are immortal; the one, because he cast himself into a merciless gulph, to cure *Rome* of the infectious Plague; the other, for burning his own hand, to make his enemies sensible that no torture should deter Romans from prosecuting the defence of their Liberty. Heroick actions embalm the memories of Magnanimous spirits, and preserve them sweet and fresh, maugre the malignity of fickle Fortune, or the succession of Ages. There is no Chronicle nor History in which they shall not have a place, and be honourably mentioned and registred, for Posterity to imitate.

Besides, our Senator must bestow gifts voluntarily and liberally, and receive them with a modest blush, and a kind of unwilling willingness, following the counsel of *Hesiod*, who teacheth, that a good turn received should be returned with Interest; for the Recipient is inferiour to the Donor. *Taxilis*, an Indian King, meeting with
Alexander

Alexander the Great (as Plutarch informs us) accosted him in this manner: Noble Monarch, I challenge you, not to war, or duel; but to another kind of combat: if you be our Inferiour, receive a benefit; if our Superiour, bestow one on us. To whom Alexander replied, as the Story farther informs us, This contention is laudable, and suits with Our Dignity; for we should endeavour to exceed one another in well doing: and closed these words with an embrace; suffering him to enjoy his Kingdom, with additions. Among those of the more noble extract, let him behave himself with a well-balasted deportment, and be the discreet Herald of his own praise; but among those of the inferiour allay (the vulgar I mean) he must abstain from so doing, because of the contrary effects: for in the one, it attracts love; in the other, it causeth hatred.

Next, it behoveth our Senator in all successes and events to be constant and unmoved; and not like *Protem*, capable of receiving all shapes. The constancy of *Aristides* deserves no mean commendation, considered as he was a Heathen; for *Dionysius* the Tyrant, demanding his Daughter in marriage, he retorted, That he had rather see her wedded to her Grave, than

to a Tyrant : and having slain her, he was re-demanded, whether he had changed his opinion ; he replied, He was sorry for the fact, but glad that he had so exprest himself. Who can but admire the constancy of *Caro* ? Who, if we may relie upon the Records of the Ancients, was ever observed to keep the same countenance, as well when he was repulsed and accused, as when he was Prætor : being still immutable in Counsel, War, at the time of his Death, and when that pannick fear ague-shook his whole Country ; *Cæsar* being victorious, and as a Tyrant usurping the Government of the Republick. *Xantippe*, who was the *Billingsgate* Wife of *Socrates*, the wise Philosopher (if a modern title may be applied to an ancient scold) could utter this to his eternal honour, that she alwaies observed he went out and returned with the same countenance ; for indeed, he was so rarely qualified, that no violent or impetuous gusts of adversity could shake him out of his constant composed temper. Merit will be crowned with her deserved bayes, *Velit nolit invidia*, in spite of fate ; or else her very enemies will lend a helping hand. It becomes him therefore to be a fixed star, no Planet, in
his

his own Sphere ; like *Regulus*, who rather than the Captives should be restored, delivered himself into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. It is reported, that when *Nicomachos*, the Tyrant of *Cyprus*, had vanquished *Anaxarchus* ; he told him, he might *prohibitu*, as he pleased, torment and wrack his body, but he could never prejudice the constancy of his mind ; that would be still inviolable. Yet he must be wary that his constancy extend only to just causes and ends ; for to defend any conceit by strength of sophistical dissertations, against the opinion of wise men, is an argument of a perverse and obstinate, no constant disposition : For in vain were all our consultations, if like the River *Euripus*, they ebb and flow at no certainty. In Council, as he must be active, so like a stone he must be mure, and not divulgive, because there pass many things in consultations which are to be communicated neither to strangers, nor domestical friends ; and it is the property of a light and unsettled head, to blab all mysteries spoken in Council : as if they could receive nothing, but like squeamish stomachs they must immediately cast it up. The Romans would not admit the Senators *Pedarii*, when they had any weighty matter in hand, nor any of

the Clerks to be present ; but they themselves debated it. At first, indeed, the Senate-house was open to all young men, that were descended of the *Patricii* ; till after that noble and memorable part acted by *Papirius*, they were forbidden ; lest through the unsetledness of greener heads, the secrets of State should be divulged, and the Republick thereby damnified : who being one day questioned by his Mother, what matter was so long in debate among them, and compelled to give some answer ; replied merrily, Whether it were more advantageous to the Common-wealth, that one man should have two Wives, or one woman have two Husbands : and so by dissembling the truth, came off handsomely, satisfying his Mother without prejudice to the Senate or the Commonwealth.

The next Concomitant of Fortitude is Patience, which (according to *Tully*) is a voluntary and continual enduring of adverse fortune, either for credit or commodity ; which are the two Poles about which the World moves ; and the use hereof is in war greatest. For they that are Men of war, Souldiers, adventure their lives for their Country, and undergo all perils and dangers whatsoever, with a patient, reso-

resolute, and undaunted mind.

If *Coriolanus* had taken it patiently when he had a repulse for aspiring to the Consulship, he had manifested himself discreet, and his life had not been attended by so many disasters. Patience is the *Panacea* of all griefs : for things past that are irrecoverable, may be endured, though not amended. He that cannot undergo the bitter chance of misfortune, is but a bearded woman : yet in the exercise of patience, we must be very circumspect that the multitude and greatness, the quantity and quality of injuries do not discompose us : for, *Lesâ patientia fit furor* ; Patience abused is turned into fury.

Confidence is another of Fortitudes Associates, which is a certain conceit or assurance of mind that we shall have future success ; encouraging, and setting us forward to the atchievement of noble and heroick performances. He that is confident, is a perfect stranger to cowardly fear. It is storied of *Julius Caesar*, that seeing *Caius Crastinus* prepared for the Pharsalick war with hope of success, asked him what he thought would be the event of the battel : whereunto *Crastinus* (holding up his hand armed) answered, *Caesar, thou shalt be*
K 4 *victorious,*

victorious, and have cause to commend me dead or alive: which accordingly fell out, and he was slain in the skirmish; whereupon *Cesar* assembled his Army, and made an Oration in his praise. *Aristotle* affirms, that men, according to the success they have already had, judge of the future in their proceedings. *Plutarch* reports, that *Antonius* was alwaies accompanied with an Egyptian Philosopher, who, by the calculation of mens looks, would give a shrewd guess at their disposition, fortune, and destiny: He did very much expatiate upon the felicity of *Antonius*, but more upon that of *Octavius*; saying, That the Genius that waited on *Octavius* was more powerful than that that attended *Antonius*; which he conceived, because in gaming, Cock, or Quail-fighting, he had the better hap, and was most fortunate; besides other conjectures. It is thought, nay, maintained, that every King, Prince, and Person hath a certain Guardian Angel; which Spirits are by *Homer* and *Plato* called *Genii*; and by others *Lares*, *Damones*, *Lemures*; and by us, *Angeli*: which, as they affirm, assist them in battel, and inform them what is to be done. Of which there are two sorts, the one good, the other evill. We read that

Uladislaus

Wladislaus Jagellonus King of *Polonia*, in the *Prussian* war against the Germans, spied an Angel armed assisting him; whom he religiously called *Divum Stanislaum*: by reason of this spectacle, he fought resolutely, came off victorious, and in spite of the Tyrants fury delivered *Prussia*. *Plutarch* tells us of an evil Angel that still accompanied *Brutus*; who being in consultation about the management of war, perceived a man standing before him of a prodigious bulk: he demanding of him, Who he was; received this answer, That he was his evil Spirit, whom he should see in the *Philippick* war: which proved true; for thereby he did not only prognosticate his ill success, but his death also, which accordingly happened. That the Romans relied much upon the predictions of their Spirits, appears, by the Inscriptions of the Roman Coyns: *Genius Augusti*, *Genius Senatus*, *Genius Populi Romani*; and thereupon *Ovid* sings,

Et vigilant nostra semper in urbe Lares.

But to pass by all these Phancies; there is nothing conduceth more to the perfecting of a Conquerour, than Confidence; which our
Senator

Senator must be endowed with ; for many times all other helps and hopes fail, when this remains for the last Refuge.

Security brings up the rear of the Concomitants of that Noble General Fortitude ; which as it is the end of a good, so is it of a valiant life ; and hereby we gain tranquillity of mind. He that hath Security, is in the same condition he was before his Birth : my Author is *Cicero*. Now, this Security tends to a peaceable and quiet life in a Republick, which is commonly termed, Common Felicity. Yet our Security must have a better foundation than an airy conceit ; Sloath, Carelesness, or Negligence. *Pompeius*, being Commander of numerous Forces, and going to wage war with *Cesar*, seem'd secure ; yet some of his captains, that feared the vigilancy of *Cesar*, advised him to be diligent : to whom he said, All was secure, and they might in *utramque aurem dormire*, take their rest, and sleep securely. But this Security caused his flight, and by consequence his overthrow. This is an errour incident to most Kingdoms and Republicks ; who being ruffled with peace, and grown hoary, as it were, with quietness, think themselves secure, when as they are sloathful, cowardly, dull, and negligent.

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The Roman Empire was extreamly enlarged by their Vertue Military ; infomuch that their Eagles flew as far, if not farther, than the current of their Laws did run. This *Metropolis*, from the time of *Romulus*, till the reign of *Octavius Augustus*, was never unarm'd. But *Octavius* finding a general peace all the World over, caused the Temple of *Janus* (which stood open in time of universal peace only,) to be shut ; as if thereby the State should be for ever secured from Martial tumults. *Rome* being by this means secured, no succeeding Emperour opened the Temple of *Janus* : so that from that time the People embraced an idle lazy life ; whence it followed, that in process of time all Countries, Cities and Kingdoms shook off the Roman Yoke, and purchased their own liberty ; whereas she, quite disarm'd, became subject to the *Goths*. We therefore approve of no other Security in our Counsellor, but such, as wanteth not care and provision to repel danger and misfortune when they begin to encroach upon us. And happy is that Kingdom, that in time of peace prepares for war. It will not be amiss, I presume, to inform you what men are to be judged valiant, and the rewards due unto such persons

sons so judged. Some there are, that only led with love to Vertue, grounded upon honest Principles, choose rather to hazard their lives and bodies in fight, than in time of necessity to abandon their Prince, Country, or Friends. We find it recorded, that the Roman, German, and French Captains did alwaies animate their Soldiers to fight, with perswasions of the efficacious power of their great Forces, the Valour of their General, the Virtue of their Ancestors, and the numerous spoils taken from the enemy : but the Commanders of *Polonia* use no other argument or compellation than this ; Let every person be mindful of his own Virtue, and peculiar reputation : which only Sentence did satisfie the *Polonians*, whose fixed resolution it is to fight till Victory seats her self upon their Banners, or die in the Field. Now, he that stands thus affected to Vertue and Honesty, may lawfully be termed Valiant. Which sort of men are not to pass without their reward, and badges of honours, as Ensigns of their Loyalty and Allegiance to their King. It is but reason and equity, that after the turmoys of War, they should be cloathed with long Robes, and enjoy the tranquillity of a serene, quiet
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and peaceable life. In *Rome*, all such Soldiers were adopted Senators, as brought home any spoyl that did belong to the Person of the enemy, or that wore a Garland for saving a Citizen in fight. Those that had born office in the field for the space of ten years, were admitted to be civil Magistrates. Nay, *Regulus* being removed from the dignity of a Senator, was so much disturbed at the affront, that he tore his cloaths, and manifested the wounds of his body that he had received in battel; thereby claiming a place in the Senate-house; and made a succinct relation of those martial services he had done for the good of his Country; which wrought so much upon the Senate, that he was re-admitted to his former dignity.

The *Peripateticks* affirm, that anger is *Cos fortitudinis*, the whetstone of Fortitude; and men lightly moved thereby, attempt all things with the more vivacity and sprightliness. Yet our Senator must be careful that he avoid all fury and outrage in the use thereof, lest he be branded with madness, and lose the title of Valiant; which may be effected by making Anger a Companion, no Commander of Fortitude. There is nothing more misbecoming
any

any man (especially a Counsellor) than Anger : for he that is overswayed with that furious passion, becomes like a brute beast, whose property it is to seek revenge in the heat and height of fury. Wherefore in all enterprises, let Honesty bring up the front, or be Commander ; and Anger be Adjutant General. *Plato* the Divine calls Anger, The Sinews of the mind, because thereby she is stretched and scrued up, and by Lenity let down. And he that engageth with an enemy, prompted to his enterprize by no other instigation than Anger, deserves the name of Cholerick, and not Valiant ; because he undertakes the management of his affairs, moved thereunto by a certain perturbation of mind, not by reason or honour. Wherefore it was well said by the Epicure, *Anger is the issue of Madnes* ; which is as prejudicial to the health of the body, as the perfection of the mind. Some there are that ascribe more to Fortune, than, if rightly considered, she can lay claime to ; and being armed with this conceit, only cry out *Victoria*, before they do *classicum canere* ; which, as we say, count their Chickens before they be hatcht. For although the force of Fortune be great, and most considerable in War,

War, (because it is most prevalent in those things where reason is least powerful) yet must we not rely upon her so much, as altogether to forsake all advice and consultation ; for, those that are conducted by reason, want not the Auspices of Fortune. *Hannibal* suing for peace with *Scipio*, expressed himself as followeth ; I have been instructed by good and bad success so well, that I am sensible it is far better to relie on Reason, than Fortune. For she often fails when a man is come to the last pinch of extremity ; and there is nothing more fickle and inconstant ; she's a Female, and will wax and wane twice in a minute ; and blinds the judgement of those that bridle not her head-strong fury. Therefore let our Senator be *sua fortuna faber*, the hammer of his own fortune ; and make way for his success by his valour and magnanimity, and then she will afford assistance ; for she lacqueys reason, as a shadow doth the body. It is the opinion of *Xenophon*, that in war evill fortune accompanies the bad, and good fortune the good. *Alexander*, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were fortunate, but not so much through the aide of that fickle Lady, as the assistance of Wisdom, and the benefit of Verrue. Yet he behaves

behaves himself wisely, that takes Fortune and Opportunity when it is offered : for, *post est occasio calva* ; he must take her by the foretop, because she's bald behind ; and once past, is past recovery. Now, some there are, that if they find success in their undertakings, immediately ascribe all to Fortune as the Authorefs, as is before mentioned ; yet there is no man that may be termed wise, but scorns to make her the Directress of his actions.

Now, to the perfection of our Senators body, (for we have already discoursed of the endowments of the mind.) The goods of the body consist partly in the whole body, and partly in some particular members thereof : Health, strength and soundness are required in the whole body ; but perfect sense, and agility, and activeness in some peculiar members only. And as there is a consent or harmony between the body and mind ; so is there a certain correspondency and similitude between the vertues of them both. Health resembleth Justice ; because it reduceth the different constitutions of the body to an equal temperature, and they both conspire to make the body and mind perfect. Strength is compared to Fortitude ; because they mutually

mutually assist one another in the undergoing of perils and dangers. Soundness of body is assimilated to Prudence : for as Prudence makes a reconciliation between all opinions and judgments, till they shake hands ; so in a sound body, all parts unite their forces together, to make it up perfect. Health doth very much avail ; for in all our actions she sets us forward with courage and delight ; whereas sickness debilitates the body, and hinders it from the prosecution of a design : She's not to be had by price, saith the Lyrick Poet,

---*Non gemmis neque purpura venale nec auro.*

Neither Gold nor Silver can purchase it. The multitude of Acres will not cure so much as the head-ach ; nor the tumbling over of your Bags, the rich-Gout, Stone, or Collick. It is a free gift of the Creator, as from the prime efficient ; but good diet and exercise is the secondary cause : Therefore our Senator must take heed lest he destroy or lose this inestimable Jewel by Intemperancy. Health (saith the Prince of Orators) is maintained by knowing a mans own body, and taking an observation of those things which agree or disagree most

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with the natural constitution; as also by continency in diet, and contempt of pleasures: what else remains, must be fetch'd out of the volumes of those two famous pillars of the Temple of *Esculapius*, *Galen* and *Hippocrates*. *Diogenes* used to laugh them to scorn, that thought to procure health, being distempered, by sacrificing to the Gods; and yet wallow all their life-time in debauchery and excess. Let our Senator therefore be, as the Physicians term it, Sanguine or Cholerick; for those humours incline men to be ingenious, docible, healthy, and of large memories. *Aristotle* saith, Melancholick men are witty, because they being subject to anger, are apt to have divine cogitations, and profound thoughts; yet are they to be excluded from Council, because the humour most predominant in such persons is cold and dry; which makes their consultations solitary, sower, sad and dull: for a melancholy person is nothing but a lump of quickned care; whereas the merry soul is blithe, pleasant, affable and debonair. *Cicero* chancing to meet with that passage in *Aristotle*, that melancholick persons were ingenious; with a smile, said, He rejoiced extremely, that Nature had favoured him

so far, as to make him dull witted, and not melancholick. *Cæsar* being desired to take heed of a corpulent, merry, jovial person; said, Such persons were not to be feared, but those rather that were sad, of a swarthy meagre complexion; pointing to *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Nor do we approve of phlegmatick persons, as fit for Senators; lest their cross humour be a disturbance to all the rest, and so prove offensive: for, as the motion of the phlegmatick is Saturnine, slow and dull; so likewise is the disposition of their mind.

Good proportion and comeliness of bodie is requisite in our Senator; for according to the Poet,

Gratior est pulchro veniens & corpore virtus.

Now I call that comeliness in him, which shews him to be manly, and not effeminate. *Aristotle* saith, in tall persons there is no great vertue, and in the short or low of stature, little; therefore let him be of a moderate size. His body must not be gross, nor yet lean and dry, like a Skeleton or Anatomy. For, the former is unapt for travel, and the latter over-weak to endure hardship. Besides, great notice should

be taken of those that Nature hath mark'd with any deformity, or defect of Member, as the want of an eye : For such persons are counted crafty and subtile, and so unfit for Consultation, (had this been observed among us, *Hewson* had never sate so oft in Council.) Yet, notwithstanding all these niceties of features and comeliness, if any such person, though deformed in body, be perfect in mind ; he shall be admitted : for the excellency of Vertue overcomes the imperfection of Nature. And though the inward disposition is sometimes known by the outward complexion ; yet is not the conjecture of the virtues of the mind by the lineaments of the body so certain, but that it may fail : for many there be, who are rough-hewn without, but nearly polish'd within. Nor can deformity of body blemish the mind, though the beauty of the mind beautifie that of the body. Nor doth Vertue confine her self either to beauty or deformity, meanness or greatness ; but sometimes dwels with russet honesty, in the low cottage, as well as with plum'd gallantry in lofty Palaces. So that not the countenance of a Senator is altogether to be regarded, but his mind and qualifications.

Now,

Now, to the Robes and Vesture of our Senator: He must be decently apparelled, according to his degree and dignity; for the comely ornament of a garment adds a reverence to his person; and by his Robes he is distinguished from all other sorts and kinds of persons. The Roman Senators wore a Garment set full of studs or tufts of Gold; and on their Hose did they wear the form of the Moon; which was the cognizance or badge of great honour. This kind of Ornament the Romans were beholding to other Nations for, according to all probability; for *Isaiah* the Prophet foretold the Noble women of *Judaea*, that God would take away those Moons and Ornaments of the Hose. *Plutarch* alledgeth four causes of this fashioned Hose among the Romans, which for the Readers delight and recreation I shall here rehearse.

First, Because their superstition taught them, that the souls of their *Heroes* should be led the nearest way to Heaven by the light of the Moon.

The second was, that the Sign of the Moon did manifest their descent from the *Arcadians*, who came into *Italy* with *Evan-der*; and the *Arcadians* were so lunatick as to imagine themselves more ancient than the Moon.

The third cause that mov'd them to the wearing of the Moon, was, to the end that in prosperity it might be as a *memento* unto them of the mutability and inconstancy of Fortune. For, as the Moon is sometimes partly lightned, and partly darkned; so no honour or felicity can be so clear and resplendent, but it may sometimes be overcast with clouds of obloquy and malice.

The fourth cause was, that as the Moon drinks in all her light from the Sun; so ought all men to think themselves indebted to heaven for their wisdom.

Others there are who affirm, that the Roman Senators did not wear the figure of the Moon, but the proportion of the letter C. as though the hundred that *Romulus* chose to be *Patres* (as he call'd them) should thence take their Title. It hath ever been a Custom in all Kingdoms, Republicks, and well-govern'd States heretofore, to distinguish the Degrees of men by their Vesture; and without doubt this is of much moment to make them constant and settled in their professions. Among the Romans no man might be adorned with Purple, but Senators, Magistrates, Priests, and the Younger sort that were of noble ranke and quality. I omit the mentioning of Rings, Chains,

Chains, and Bracelets, which were bestowed on vertuous persons, advanced to dignity, as encouragements. Though these customs now adaies are obsolete, since the alteration of vertues, manners and times; for *Jone* is as neatly trickt up as my Lady, and the Artizan as the Gentleman: It is most certain, that by ornaments and additional titles of honour men are put in mind of their duty; and thereby they prosecute all things with the more eagerness and diligence. Scepters, Crowns, Chains, Rings, Gowns, Robes and Saddles, are no dignities, but the badges of Dignity, whereby men are stirred up and encouraged to perform what is requisite in the office and place whereunto those Badges belong. *Romulus* (saith *Livy*) intending to take the Government of a strange People upon him, did adorn himself with his majestic Robes, and called twelve Lictors with Maces, to attend upon his person, that he might thereby appear with greater pomp and ostentation, and so captivate the hearts of the people: for the Vulgar (like Children) are hugely taken with the outward face and appearance of things; and mind the outward bark more than the inward substance. Our Senator therefore shall ob-

serve such a *decorum* in his apparel, as not to encline to lightness or foolish gallantry, so to decline all flogginglines and rusticity: As he must not be like the Frenchified Gallant, who when he hath once seen *Paris*, comes over metamorphos'd both in body and mind; dancing out an entertainment to his friend with a giddy feather in his Crown: no more must he be like the Sunbak'd-peasant, who understands nothing of ceremony or civility besides the management of his plough, and understands no other Gammut but *Hay, gee, ho*, which he sings to his country Teem when they draw the Plow that furrows the face of the Earth. He must ever observe such a comly neatness, as may speak him man, and not woman; utterly declining and abhorring all nice curiosity.

CHAP. VII.

Of Travel; the Age, Gravity, and Election of our Senator.

THe major part of the wisdom of a Counsellor consists in the knowledge of the Manners, Laws and Customs of all Nati-

Nations ; which is best attained by forrain Travel, as *Homer* sings of *Ulysses*,

*Dic mihi Musa virum captæ post tempora Trojæ,
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes.*

And indeed, there is nothing accomlishes a man more than forrain Travel. *In motu melas*. There is a certain kind of harmony in motion. And as the Master of Eloquence hath it, *Plebeia sane sunt istæ animæ, quæ suis affixæ trabibus domi resident ; illa divior, quæ cælum imitatur, & gaudet motu*. Those are dunghil spirits, that live confin'd to the narrow round of the place of their nativity ; and that soul is of a more noble allay, that like the Heavens rejoyceth in motion. Sir *Thomas Moor* writes, that a mans best friends in Travel is his coyn : yet under favour, notwithstanding the Authority of so learned a Grandee, if a man be accompanied with too many of these friends, his journey will be *motus trepidationis* ; for according to the nipping Satyrist,

*Pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri ;
Nocte iter ingressus gladium, contumque timebis,
Et mota ad Lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram*
Where-

Whereas, as he immediately affirms,

Cantabit Vacuus coram latrone viator.

The indigent Traveller shall sing before a *Qui va la?* or High-way-man. Yet would not we have our Counsellor so destitute of money, as thereby to expose himself to hardship and distress; but so handsomly accommodated, as that he may take a survey of all Countries with honour and credit. Yet in travelling, he must be very careful that he only come over again furnished and full fraughted with those Laws and Customs that are honest and civil, and leave those that are erroneous and evil behind him. For,

(*currunt.*

Terras, non animos mutant, qui transmare

Or at least they should do so, and not like some green heads that corrupt themselves, and learn nothing but the superstitious Idolatrous ceremonies of other Countries, and be sure to retain what is bad, though it prove to their own prejudice and ruine. He must be very exact in informing himself what Laws, Jurisdictions, what order of life, military Discipline, civil Government,

ment, and domestical life is in every Nation practised. He shall take particular notice of the situation of Countries and places, the building of Cities, their Fortification, Strength and Ammunition. Let him also understand the vertue of every Prince; how his People stand affected to him, and upon what terms; the wisdom of their Senate, the form and method of their Consultations, as far as without prejudice to himself it may be pried into; the nature and ingenuity of the people; what vertues they adhere to, and what vices they are most addicted unto; what Learned men, Souldiers and Commanders are in every Country to be found out; that so by the report of them to his own Nation, the best precepts may be cull'd out, and the rest rejected. Yet he must take heed, lest by the new-fangled fashions that he brings over, he make not the people effeminate, and careless of their own Laws, Customs, and ancient vertues: for as *Pliny* saith truly, *Est natura hominum novitatis avida*: Man's nature prompts him to embrace Novelty, which oftentimes proves pernicious, and tends to the molestation of the Kingdom, Republick, or State. Many famous persons have taken delight in travel,
as

as Nestor, Menelaus, and Alexander the Great, out of love thereunto, Homer, and Democritus, that merrily passed his time away, travelled all over Egypt, Babylon, and Persia; thereby hoping to obtain knowledge, that so their minds being stored with variety of observation, they might be the more accomplished, and remain content with their own fortune. The words that Diodorus Siculus reports to be written upon the Tomb of Osiris, are worthy the quotation and remembrance; which are these, or to this effect: *Osiris Rex sum, Saturni antiquior filius, qui nullum orbis locum reliqui, quem non attigerim, discens ea omnia, quæ generi humano utilia sunt, & necessaria.* But if he want money to support him in travel, let him employ his time in the study of Geography, and Cosmography: And a smack he may have of Natural Philosophy; but to consume much time in that Science, is judg'd, by some, superfluous in a Senator. The field of knowledge is unmeasurable and infinite; which was the reason that men applied themselves to one particular Art or Science. *Aliquis in omnibus, and nullus in singulis,* is no fit Motto for a Counsellor. Wherefore, we commit to the Jurisdiction of our Senator two
sorts

sorts of Countries; the one is that which containeth both God and Man (not as if we prescribed God his place of residence, but we speak here according to vulgar capacities) not limited within the bounds of *Europe, Asia* or *Africa*; but is only surrounded by the posting Sun. The other is the place that Nature hath destined for his residence or being, as *England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, &c.* For it belongs unto him to take a survey of the order and nature of the *Macrocosm*, the universal World, which the Latines call, *Majorem Mundum*; as well as the *Microcosme*, or little World, where he hath his habitation and abode, which they term, *Minorem mundum*. And when the mind is dismanacled of those worldly incumbrances which usually adhere to the body, and by Travel and Science is perfected, as much as lies within the verge of humanity to be; she officiates as she ought, affecting Vertue, and disaffecting Vice, suppressing the lusty insurrections of the flesh, and like a Monarch curbing and giving Laws to all exorbitant affections. Nay further, when the mind hath pried into the nature of the Heavens, considered their harmonious motion, knows the circumference of the Earth, her
Longitude,

Longitude, Latitude, and the rarities contained therein; hath plough'd the furrow'd Ocean, and seen the wonders of the deep, understands their causes, beginnings and ends; what is the order and beauty of the glimmering Lights of Heaven, and what influence they have upon sublunary bodies: what causeth the passions or *deliquia* of the two Grand Luminaries, the Sun and Moon; the reason of their Rising and Setting, their Diurnal, Nocturnal and horary motion; what is the generation and corruption of all things; what the nature of the Elements, of Animals, and the vertue and beauty of that innumerable number of fragrant herbs that usually adorn the Earth: when, I say, all these things are understood by one single person, and God acknowledged the Supreme Author and Governour of them all; Shall not that Person be judg'd a Prince, rather than a meer Inhabitant or Citizen of the World, that is of so profound and polite an understanding? Surely yes. *Socrates*, who by the Oracle at *Delphos* was pronounc'd the wisest of *Ethnick*s, being demanded what Countryman he was; replied, *A man of the world*; not confining himself to any particular place

place or Country ; for he thought himself to be an universal Prince. The same *Laertius* reports of that Tub-hugging Cynick *Diogenes*. *Omne solum forti patria*, is an old saying ; and *Omne solum sapienti patria*, carries as much truth with it, as the former antiquity. The whole World is a Wise man's Country : 'Tis a City that comes not under the tyrannous scourge of any *Nero*, *Domitian*, or *Caligula* ; Nor can be environ'd with walls, but is surrounded with the universal Circle, governed by a comly order, and natural *decorum*, as it were with a Law certain and inviolable, palizadoed with no other fortifications than the Elements. The Citizens or Inhabitants of this place are termed Philosophers, commanded only by themselves, fortified with invincible minds, and sufficiently arm'd against the griping talons of penury, or any other misfortune that can seize upon man. Such Persons (nay, Princes as these, I may say, without entrenching on the Royal Charter of Kings) no fury of War can terrifie, no Faggot frighten, nor Axe disturb ; for they are all valiant, resolute, and beyond the prejudice of Fortune.

Now, to the Age and Gravity of our Senator. They that have penned any thing
of

of the life of man, did usually confine it to a certain proportion of time. *Plato* assigneth eighty one years; *Solon*, eighty; others affirm, that the continuance of mans life extends but to seventy, referring all to the number seven, because it frequently falls out, that every seventh year some alteration or change appears in the body. The first seven years, Childrens teeth fall out; The next seven, their hair grows; The third, their body comes to its proper stature and height; The fourth, they encrease in bulk and thickness; The fifth, they arrive at their full strength and virility; The sixth, they find themselves addicted to pleasure and delight; The seventh, they come to the maturity and ripeness of wit and understanding; The eighth, they begin to be termed aged, or ancient; The ninth, weak and feeble, beholding to the support of the staff, and the help of Spectacles; And the tenth, they have one foot in the grave, and are reckoned to be *è peculio Proserpine*, of *Proserpina's* fold. Others there are, who maintain that this change happens every ninth year, and so ascribe the alteration thereof to every unequal number till twenty and one. *Pythagoras* the silent, called the eightieth year of mans Age fatal, dividing it
into

into four times twenty, as followeth: Childhood, continues till twenty; Youth, other twenty; Man's estate, the other twenty; and old Age, the fourth, which puts a period to all. Some again compare Mans Age to the four Seasons of the Year: Childhood, is compared to the Spring; Youth, to Summer; Manhood, to Autumn; and Old-Age, to Winter. *Varro* divides Man's Age into four degrees, and comprehends every of them within the number of fifteen: Childhood (saith he) lasts till fifteen, for so long Children are weak and tender; Youth, till thirty, because till that Age men encrease and grow in height and thickness; Ripe Age till forty five, for so long strength of body continues, and men are then fit to be employed in publike affairs; Old-Age begins at sixty, and then the body is impotent, crazy and decay'd; so that they are not fit for State-employments, lingring, and consuming till death come and trip up their heels, as he did all their Ancestors before them. To this division of mans Age we assent; but the distinction by number doth principally belong to Physicians; for they in exhibiting their medicines, observe certain critical daies. But our opinion is, that the forty

fifth year of man's age is most suitable for Consultation; because then the strength both of body and mind is arrived to the very height. Besides, it is the middle age of Man; and at that time, if ever, the mind is perfect in judgement and experience, less attracted with brutish affections and desires, and least of all transported with rage, fury, or passion. When old *Rome* was in her glory, and shone with all her splendor, Senators were chosen at that Age, being then most perfect in body and mind: yet dare we not deny, but that some men may be termed Aged at thirty; that is, are both prudent, grave and wise. And we find it upon record, that some, though very few, were created Senators by the Romans before the thirtieth year of their Age; which we do not disallow, in regard that men may be reputed ancient for vertue as well as number of years: yet care must be taken that the Kingdom be governed chiefly by mature and grave Head-pieces; for as *Plutarch* affirms, that Kingdom is most happy that hath store of young mens Lances, and old mens Laws. Pertinent is that of *Euripides* to this purpose: *Disum est vetustum facta Juvenum, ceterum magis valent concilia Senum.* In *Athens* no person was created

created Senator before he was fifty years old. And in *Rome* it was permitted for any man of sixty to enter the Senate-house, though he never came to the Senatorship by choice or election; and after that year, it was left to his pleasure to be present or absent; so that they did neither bind him to, nor bar him from coming to Council. A good, though ancient Custom; for every man, though he hath seen as many Winters as hoary-headed *Nestor*, ought to employ himself *pro posse suo*, according to his utmost ability, for the benefit of his native Country. *Plato* is of opinion, that men must learn till Age snow white hairs upon their heads. *Nulla dies sine linea*; that day is lost, in which a man hath not better'd his knowledge. Yet we prohibit decrepit, doting persons, whose judgements are as crazy as their bodies; and the reason is, because their counsels and consultations are for the most part dubious, and are rather hesitant conjectures than solid counsels, beginning every Sentence with perhaps, perchance, peradventure, and the like: and this they do, as being sensible of their former imbecility and weakness, and so are unwilling to suffer a relapse into their juvenile and youthful errors and

mistakes. Yet, if they have only so many years over their heads as may render them grave, solid and wise, they are perfect in uttering their conceits: for by use and experience (which is the best School-Mistress) they have gain'd, as it were, a third eye, whereby they are enabled to pry into, and discern with the more vivacity, the events and causes of things. And as every man is discovered by his speech, so is the prudence and wisdom of a Senator manifested by uttering his opinion. *Socrates*, casting his eye upon a Youth that he never had seen before, saies to him, *Speak, that I may know thee*: So may we say to our Counsellor, *By the solidity of thy speech, and the gravity of thy deportment, manifest thy self unto us*. Now his opinion must be delivered in significant, but plain naked terms; not daubed over *fusco Rhetoricæ lascivientis*, with the paints of lasciviating Rhetorique, which becomes the Rhetorick School, better than the Parliament House. But so much for his Age and Gravity.

Now to the Election of our Senator. Among the Romans (in the times of Yore Lords of the whole World) Senators were elected divers waies; for, they were chosen either by the King, Consuls, Dictators,

tors, Tribunes of the people, the Censors or Chieftains. And the Custome of free-born natives is to choose Senators among themselves, or else to commit the authority of Election to a single person, who for wisdom, gravity and dignity is judged the most fit, and that is the King; which the Romans did at first. *Romulus*, the first founder of their City, elected a hundred Senators; which custome was followed by their succeeding Kings. But, when Kingly Government, through the insolent government of *Tarquinius* the Ravisher, was removed, this power of election (according to the quality of the time) was somewhat changed, yet not given to a multitude; for till the State returned to the Basis and foundation of Government, Monarchy, Senators were elected by Consuls, Censors, Dictators, or Chieftains. In all which Elections, till the time of *Augustus*, there is no mention made of lots; but the Fame, Family, Order, Office before born, riches and possessions, were most of all considered and respected. Now, since there is no earthly possession but comes far short of Verue for excellency in the choice of Senators, that must be chiefly look'd upon; because they are reputed Defenders of the Law,

Moderators of Liberty, and Conservers of a Kingdom. And as the Republick or Kingdom is oftentimes infected by the vice and impiety of Magistrates; so is it antidoted, corrected and repaired by their vertues. Such are the People of every Country, as are the Manners of their Governours; and the Subjects are apt to Ape the Customs and Constitutions of their Prince. It was well said of one, That the change of Princes Lives, and the alteration of Manners in Magistrates, would also work even to a mutation of the Customs, Institutions and Rights, nay, of the Kingdom it self. And to deal really with you, evill Princes are very much to be blamed, not in that they themselves are guilty of any crime, for it is a Maxim in our Common Law, *That the King can do no wrong*; but that thereby the Subjects are prone to be seduced, and led away to the same exorbitancies; which may justly be so termed in them, though not in a King. And indeed, how can it enter within the lists of possibility for a man to perswade other men to be vertuous, when he himself is vicious? The Romans derided *Scylla*, who, though a man infinitely debauched, and wholly given up to licentiousness, did nevertheless admonish and stir

stir up others to Sobriety, Temperance and Frugality. And who would not blame *Lisander*? though he swam in a contrary stream, yet he allowed and gave toleration to the Citizens for those vices which he himself abstained from and abhorred. But *Lycurgus* deserves commendation, because he never imposed the observation of that upon any man, which he himself did not first of all diligently follow. Yet in a free-State, (if any such there be) it hath been observed, they have been directed by the suffrage of chance. This order of Election is observed by that Virgin, *Venice*. The like institution *Solon* authorized among the Athenians for the choice of the five hundred Senators: For, out of every Tribe were so many elected, as were thought to deserve that dignity; whose names were put into a Pot; and into another as many Beans, the one half white, and the other black: now so many as hapned upon the white, were pronounced Senators; and those that chanced to light on the black, were repulsed and dismissed: which made *Thucydides* to call that Senate, *Senatum à Fata*. Besides, it was observed among the Romans what Office he had born before his Election, and with what fidelity he had

discharged himself of his duty : for they made choice of their Senators out of that number of men only, that were by them styled *Patres*, which was, as it were, the Nursery of Counsellors, that so they might be known to be men famous for some public exploit, or renowned for their Wisdom and Gravity.

Among us, those that sit in Parliament obtain that Dignity three manner of waies :

First, By reason of their Tenure.

Secondly, By vertue of Writ ; and

Thirdly, By vertue of Office.

Per Tenure are these : Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Marqueses, Earls and Barons. And these are summoned to appear before the Parliament in the space of 48. daies.

They that come in *per Breve*, or by Writ, are these : Knights of the Shires, Burgeses, Citizens, Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and the King's Council. There come also *per Breve*, directed to the several Deans and Archdeacons of this Kingdom, two several Proctors of the Clergy for every several Deaconry & Arch-deaconry; and these Proctors of the Clergy are elected by the Clergy. There come hither *per Service*, or by vertue of Office,

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Office, The Chief Crier of *England*; The Chief Usher; The Chancellor; The Treasurer; The Chamberlain, and Barons of the Exchequer; The Justices of either Bench; The Steward of *England*; The Porter, Grooms, and all tyed by service to be here done. The Stewards Office was to place the Lords; the Porter used to see there be but one door to enter in and go out at: And every one of the above-mentioned Officers, hath had his several Charge respectively. Thus have you had a description of our *Sage Senator*, of all the qualifications that tend to his accomplishment; his Duty, Dignity and Office displayed and laid open; the rewards due unto, and conferred on him; the ancient Customs of the Romans and Grecians touching this particular; their election and choice; as also their manner of sitting in Parliament among us; how and by what means they obtain the Senatorship, or title of Parliament-men, according to our modern styles, who were so termed, because every Member of this High and most absolute Court of Justice in *England* (from which there is no appeal to any other for redress) should sincerely and discreetly *Parler la ment*, as it is in the old Norman French, that is, freely express

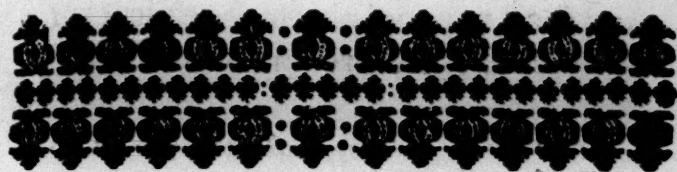
express their minds for the benefit of the Kingdom. Nor are the Laws of this Island only, and the Liberty of the Subject conserved by Parliament, but those of all well policed Kingdoms & Countries else in *Europe*. The Germans have their Diets; The Danes and Swedes their *Riicks Dachs*; The Spaniard calls his Parliament *Las Cortes*; And the French have (or at least should have) their Assembly of the three States, though it be now in a manner grown obsolete, because the authority thereof was by accident devolv'd upon the King: it will not be altogether impertinent to give you a succinct account of this memorable alteration; which hapned as followeth: When our Nation had taken such large footing in *France*, that they advanced as far as *Orleans*, and had forced their then Sovereign to fly to *Bourges* in *Berry*, for sanctuary; the Assembly of the three States not being able to convene during these pressures in full Parliament, because that by those invasions the enemy made into the very bowels of the Kingdom, the Country was altogether unpassable, so that the power that was inherent in the Parliamentary Convention, of enacting Laws, assessing the Subject with Taxes, subsidiary Levies, and other Impositions

sitions, was transmitted to the King, during the rage and fury of that war only; which proving of long continuance, that entrusted Authority began to grow habitual, and could never hitherto be taken from him; so that his Edicts stand in lieu of Acts of Parliament. Out of these foregoing premises this Conclusion may easily be deduced, " That the principal Fountain whence " the King derives his happiness and safety, is the Parliament: It is the great " Conduit-Pipe which conveys unto " him his Peoples bounty and gratitude; " the truest Looking-glass wherein he discerns their loves. Now the Subjects love " hath been ever accounted the prime Citadel of a Prince. In his Parliament he " appears as the Sun in the Meridian, in " the Altitude of his Glory, in his highest " State-Royal, as the Law informs us. But lest we should spin out too long a thread, and so wear the Readers Patience thread-bare, we will conclude this first Book, and make the discourse which we allot for the scope and Subject of our next, run in another Channel.

Finis Libri Primi.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked up at the sky, which was a pale, hazy blue. The air was crisp and clean, a welcome change from the stuffy atmosphere of the car. I took a deep breath, feeling the cool air fill my lungs. The sun was just beginning to rise, casting a soft, golden glow over the landscape. The trees were still, their branches bare and reaching towards the sky. The ground was covered in a thin layer of snow, which glistened in the early morning light. I felt a sense of peace and tranquility, a moment of stillness in a world that was always in motion. I walked slowly, savoring the quiet and the beauty of the scene. The world was so different here, so much more peaceful than the city I had just left. I felt like I had found a hidden gem, a place where time stood still and the worries of the world were left behind. I smiled to myself, feeling a sense of accomplishment and joy. This was my chance to escape, to breathe fresh air and see the world from a new perspective. I was grateful for this moment, for the chance to be alone and at peace. The world was so beautiful, so full of wonder and mystery. I was going to explore it all, to see every corner and experience every moment. I was going to live, to truly live. And I was going to do it all in the name of adventure.

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THE Second Book,

TREATING
Of KINGS, and their PREROGATIVE.

CHAP. I.

EΚ Διδ; ἀρχών —
A Jove Principium —

In the Trinity we find Unity ; Among the Orders of Angels there is an Archangel ; The Heavens have their *Primum mobile* , and the Sun is their chief Luminary ; The Beasts of the Forest have the Lion to their King ; The Fowls of the Air, the Eagle

Eagle : The Fish of the Sea a Sovereign ;
 And shall man only be Independent ? *Abfit,*
Abfit ; let us therefore sing with *Homer* :

Ὅτι ἀγαθὴ σπουδαίεται, ἐν κοίτῃ τῷ
 Ἐν βασιλείᾳ.

“ Kings (saith one of our quondam
 “ Pen-men, though since an Apostate) are
 “ lively Representations, living Statues or
 “ Pictures, drawn to the life of the great
 “ Deity : these Pictures, for their better
 “ continuance, are done in Oyl ; the co-
 “ lours of the Crown never fade, they are
 “ no water-colours. They are Gods Vice-
 gerents here upon earth ; nay, God the
 Father, God the son, and God the Holy
 Ghost say, they are Gods, and would have
 them live as Gods. God the Father plain-
 ly affirms, *Joh. 10. 34. Dixi dii estis : I have*
said ye are Gods. God the Son told *Pilate, Thou*
shouldst have no power, except it were (data de
super) given from above. And I'm sure the
 Holy Ghost tells us, *Per me Reges regnant ;*
By me Kings reign, and not by the suffrage of
 the people ; for then it would have been *per*
nos. They are the Lord's anointed, there-
 fore not to be touch'd or brought in questi-
 on by their Subjects : for all the failings in

a King can but make him a bad King; but he remains a King still. If indeed, as one saith excellently, Kings held their Crowns by Indentures from the People, they were then disobliged from their obedience to him upon his failing (in those things whereunto he was sworn at his Coronation) on his part; but if they receive their Crowns immediately from God, and that by him alone Kings raig, as is said before, then they must still stick close to their Allegiance, or else come off with the brand of Traytors. Our modern times have furnished us with too many of that infernal rabble, who were so hellishly wicked and impious, as to fight against their lawful Sovereign; and having got him in their clutches, slew him at his own door. But to the purpose.

The Athenians, (as *Demosthenes* writes in his Oration against *Neera*) when *Theseus* had contrived the model of their Commonwealth, being accustomed to choose some one out of the number of the vertuous, by a general consent, manifested by holding up their hands, they elected him King. In ancient times, the election of Kings was ever held *sacrum & divinum quid*, a certain holy and divine action among

among the very Heathens. *Romulus*, after the sight of twelve Ravens (if we may credit *Livy*) or rather because the lightning had pierced his body from the left to the right side (as *Dionysius* hath it) was by divination chosen King; and that ordinance, called *Jus Auspiorum*, was religiously obeyed. Their authority hath been judged ever as divine as their election; for *Homer* and *Isocrates* joyntly affirm, That he that governeth as a King, represents the Deity. The Kings of *Persia* were honour'd as Gods, and the people believed that they were the sole and absolute defenders of their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Country. The ancient Latines called their Kings, *Indigetes*, that is, deified; (as *Aeneas* and *Romulus* were) whose bodies after they were expired, could never be found. Kings are the Sons, not of the most voices, but of the most High; and as God is King of the whole Universe, so are they Lords of the whole Commonwealth. About their skirts they have this Motto written by the finger of God, *Touch not mine Anointed*. Nor did ever any Church-man, Christian Father or Expositor, obtrude any other sence upon this Text, than that it was meant of Kings, till such time as the Puritan and Papist, both at a time, and that

Chap. I. their Prerogative. 161

that time bearing not above 100. years date, who began then to infect the world with this damnable doctrine, *That it was Lawful to murder Kings.* It is strange that two such contrary factions, that had ever been antipathetical one to the other, should nevertheless, like *Herod and Pilate*, agree in condemning the Lord's Anointed. *Dieu & mon Droit*, is their Motto; *God, and my Right*: no body else have any thing to do with me. They have a *Noli me tangere*, to defend them from the assaults of rebellious Subjects.

Yet although Kings are counted God's Lieutenants, or Adjutant-Generals; the Council, Wisdom, and Knowledge of Kings is not their own, but given them by God, who is the Author of every good and perfect gift, according to that verse of the Holy Pen-man :

Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δόρυμα τελεῖον
ἅπαντες ἰσι. —

And since, I say, no King can with his own peculiar stock of wisdom govern his Kingdom rightly (for it is the prerogative of the Almighty only to know all things that appertain to good Government,)

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that

they have ever used to call unto their aid and assistance some wise grave men, by whose advice and counsel the Kingdom might be well regulated. These men being as a mean between the King and the People, do on the one hand, understand the Office of the King; and on the other, the Duty of the Subject; knowing what course must be taken for the preservation of the Kings Honour and Royal Prerogative, and what belongs to the profit and benefit of his good and Loyal Subjects. Thus a King may govern all things well, not only by his own opinion, which may oftentimes prove deceitful; but by the general advice and counsel of others, whereby his judgement and reason is brought to perfection. And as the hand divided into many fingers, is thereby made more strong and apt to lay hold on all things; so he that governs by the aid and assistance of Councillors, will manage all publike affairs, tending to the benefit of the Kingdom and Country whereof he is Sovereign, with the greater discretion and wisdom: for a single person is not able to manage all affairs without additionall help. *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, conquered many Countries, and subjugated a multitude of Enemies. *Pyrrhus* was

was excellent at the choice of places for Fortification. *Hannibal* was often attended with success in Victory, but knew not how to make the best improvement of it:

Vincere scis Hannibal, uti victoria nescis.

Philopoemon was a brave Admiral at Sea; *Cleon* could manure lands and possessions; *Cicero* was a famous Orator; *Pompeius* a valiant General; *Cato* a grave Senator; and *Scipio* admirable both in peace and war. So were several others, that might be instanced: for every man (according to the Proverb) is a *Roscius* in his own Profession. Now when so many well-qualified *Heroes* are bound up together in Council, what a Constellation of Vertues will shine and appear there? And what firm Edicts and good Laws will there be enacted by them for the publick benefit and good of the Kingdom? which he is obliged to; for he is called *Rex*, à *Regendo*; but some will have it, à *recte agendo*. And it is clear, that one man cannot be so clear sighted as to perceive all; which proves that verse of *Homer* to be true, rendred into Latine, thus:

Bini conveniunt melius rem perspicit alter.

Nor doth this any waies diminish his power and authority; for though many convene, yet he is still the head of them all, and hath a negative voice; nor can any Act be pass'd without his Royal assent or approbation. It is taken *pro confesso*, that there is much care and vigilancy required in a Monarch; for, he must not seek so much after his own profit, as the publike good and commodity of his People; he must observe the Laws, preserve the Rights and Liberty of his Subjects, and maintain the authority and reputation of his Senate. For Kings were first of all instituted for the aid and assistance of the vertuous, against those that are vicious: to them absolute power is transmitted, to the end that they may revenge injuries, and be just Judges in all causes and legal proceedings. A good King ought to be as vigilant over those whom Providence hath allotted him Supreme, as a Shepherd is of his Flock. *Homer* calls King *Agamemnon*, the shepherd of the People; and *Plato* in imitation of him, the Shepherd and Conserver of Mankind. Besides, he should govern his People, not

as Masters do their Servants, but as Parents do their Children; with Paternal care, not with rigid severity or cruelty. And as it is customary with indulgent Parents, sometimes to rebuke their Children, sometimes to admonish and encourage them, and sometimes also to correct and punish them; so should a Prince behave himself toward his Subjects; manifesting himself sometimes severe, (when moved thereunto) and at other times gentle, affable and courteous, both for the preservation of his people, and the safety of the Kingdom; defending and enlarging the *bonum commune* with no less care than a Father provides for the sustentation of his Children. This makes the difference between Kings and Tyrants: the one is studious for the publike good, the other for his own private profit. The end of the Tyrants endeavour is voluptuousness; but the Kings study is honour: Riches are the mark at which a Tyrant levels, but Vertue is the true *Meta* of the King. Tyrants desire the assistance of strangers, but Kings are guarded by their own loyal Subjects. *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon*, being demanded what Subjects of his he most tenderly affected? answered, *I love them better that*

love me, than those that fear me. And nor without reason did he thus express himself: for fear is usually accompanied with hatred. A King is as secure by the love, good will and loyalty of his Subjects, as by the defence of Arms; and his Senators will stand him in more stead upon any occasion, than a Tyrants Souldiers. *Trajanus*, that great Emperour of the World, did alwaies call the Senate, his Father: for, as the Father usually foretels the Son what may prove beneficial, and what injurious to him: so the Senate counsels the King, and instructs him how to conserve his Kingdom, and by what Laws and Ordinances it must be governed. This is the only way to keep the King from Tyranny, and the Subject from Rebellion. Now tyranny in the one, with rebellion in the other, will soon verifie that Dyftich of the Satyrift:

*Ad generum Cereris sine cade, & vulnere pauci
Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte Tyranni.*

A good King knows how to irretiate and allure the hearts of the People to him by love and clemency, sooner than by violence and compulsion. And good people know their duty and obedience: and if the King
through

through the sins of the people be any way misguided, they will bite their nails, and not scratch their heads ; they know it is a crime inexpiable, to quarrel with Majesty : the only way to live happy in a Kingdom, is this, first, to give God, and then *Cesar* his due. But when Kings grow tyrannical, then there is little or no allegiance from the Subject, but what they are compelled to ; whereas that is far more to be esteemed, that flows naturally and voluntarily from the people ; and this usually stirs them up to sedition, and so consequently to their utter ruine and destruction, and the downfal both of Kingdom and King : and the reason is, because Tyrants use certain sleights and State-tricks to deprive the Subject of liberty : First, by clearing the Country of all good and wise men, either by banishment, imprisonment, or death ; because the vertue of good men reproves them for their vice, and renders them odious ; whenas all they aim at is only to enslave the Nation, to the intent that they may prosecute their own lust and pleasure without obstruction. Such counsel as this, *Periander* poysoned *Thrasibulus* with ; who by his infernal Rhetorick endeavoured to perswade him to cut off the

highest spikes of corn ; meaning thereby, that he should cause the cream of the Athenian Nobility to be executed. The like subtilty did *Sextus Tarquinius*, the Son of *Lucius*, follow ; who being suborned by his Father, pretended to be banished, and fled fraudulently to the *Gabii* ; where having scrap'd as much acquaintance as he judged convenient, sent privily to his Father to know his will and pleasure, and what farther was to be done in the business for his satisfaction : who conducted the Messenger into the garden, where walking together, he with a wand in his hand strook off all the heads of the Poppies before him ; which being by the *Nuncio* reported to his Son, who had hellish wit enough to understand such damnable mysteries, soon put the chief of the Nobility to death, and by force and injustice usurped the Government of the Commonwealth, and deprived the Subjects of their liberty. Another knack they have to prejudice their subjects, by inhibiting their meetings, conventions and conferences, to prevent their study of honest discipline. Nay, farther, they often sow discord among the people, to the end that filled with hate and private displeasure, they may be stirred up to civil war and sedition,

sedition; who being thereby much impoverished, and the war ceasing, are compelled to pay for their pardon; and being after this manner fleeced both waies of their money, and reduced to poverty, become base minded, and altogether unfit to defend their Lives, Laws, or Liberties. These, and many more that might be numerated, are the plots and devices of Tyrants; all which, they imagine, tend to their own benefit, and to the promoting of their ambitious designs; whenas oftentimes it proves quite contrary, to their own ruine and personal destruction: for if they mount themselves too often on the Subjects galled back, they will undoubtedly cast their rider, let him be never so expert a Horseman. But Kings are of a quite contrary temper and disposition: it is the good, and not the ruine of their Subjects they labour for; because they understand sufficiently, that the loss of Subjects is the shaking off of their Crowns; and wanting their protection, they are left unarm'd to the mercy of the insulting enemy. But we will now leave the lofty Subject of Kings to the fancy of a more sublime wit, and the work of a more noble quill; and come to our second Chapter, which treats of the division of Commonweals.

CHAP. II.

Of the division of Commonweals and Kingdoms.

THe diversity of Republicks proceeds not from Fortune, or Chance-medley, nor the disposition of the Heavens, or the influence of the Stars upon things sublunary; but every Government is framed according to the minds, tempers, and constitutions of men, their wits and education; though some ascribe their variety to the situation of the Country or Climate where men have their allotted residence and being. It is confest, that sometimes, through sedition, faction, and civil war, Kingdoms are subverted, and changed into States; for the proof whereof we need not ramble far, since our native rebellions have lately manifested the truth hereof. Such is the fluctuating condition of all worldly things, that mischance waits at the elbow of good fortune, and vice is masked with vertue, that she may not appear in her own native hew and deformity; for Man is prone to forsake vertue and embrace vice, which ever hoodwinks

winks him with an appearance of good. Sometimes also it falls out, that well-governed Republicks, through evill Ministers, are either utterly extinguished, or altered into other forms of Government. Hence it happens, that Kingdoms become Tyrannies, *Optimacies* come under the jurisdiction of a few; Popular States are perverted into licentious liberty, and from that reduced into Tyranny; and this is the revolution of their Government, and original of their Catastrophe. *Plato* writes, that the mutation of Commonweals is fatal, through the disposition of the Heavens, and the operation or influence of Cœlestial bodies upon Terrestrial. But as we have already instanced, their variation happens from the variety of the minds of the Inhabitants. For some Countries abound with rich, others are cram'd with poor men. In some, there is store of Nobles, Souldiers and Husbandmen; in others, plenty of Merchants, Handicraftsmen and Artificers. Now, wheresoever the number of Merchants, Artificers and Husbandmen surmount the rest, that State usually becommeth Popular: But where there is the greatest quantity of rich men, there is established the government of a few.

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Where the major part of Citizens be good, wise and vertuous, that State is apt to be governed as an Optimacy. There are three things (saith *Aristotle*) that contend for priority in Government: Liberty, Riches and Vertue. For, Nobility (which supplies the fourth place) is the associate of vertue and riches, because the equal mixture of rich and poor men, make a Popular State. A faction of rich men, is called, the Government of a few; and the consent of all three, viz. Freemen, rich men, and good men, is counted an Optimacie: such was the Carthaginian Republick; for Rich men, Good men, and Noblemen were therein equally esteemed. Now, it is the disposition and desire of some men to live, in Kingdoms rather than in any other State; who are such men as are naturally ambitious of honour, vertuous, and fitted for action. The *Cappadocians* having enjoyed Kings for many years (whose Race was at length extinguished) were profered by the Romans to have their State converted into popular Liberty; but they refused it: whereupon they appointed *Ariobarhanes*, their friend, King of *Cappadocia*. The Athenians followed the quite contrary course; for they affecting a Popular State, would
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not allow of the Government by one, nor many. Yea, some there are that approve of Tyrannical Government most of all; as the *Siculi* of old, who were ever accustomed to be ruled by Tyrants, and so were almost all the people of *Asia*; who being naturally servile, are even to this Age subject to tyrannical Government. Now, if any man demand, What a Commonwealth is? This doubt cannot arise from the name, it being a certain order among the Inhabitants assembled together in one City or Country, and there residing; but from the variety and difference of Republicks: for as mens manners, delights and estates be various, so also is the Government of Commonwealths manifold. And though the *Terminus ad quem*, or end, is one and the same, viz. *bonum*, good; yet the *Terminus à quo*, or means whereby they aspire to that good, are various, and so consequently the Laws and Customs are of sundry sorts that are by them used. For, he that shall compare the Laws of *Hippodamus* enacted for the *Miletians*, with those of *Minos* made for the *Candiaus*; or the Ordinances of *Lycurgus*, with the Decrees of *Solon*, the one writing of the Lacedæmonian, the other of the Athenian Government

vernment, may with facility understand their Laws to be divers, their Magistrates unlike, and the Form of their States very discrepant. The seven Wise men (*Thales* excepted, who did not care for fishing in the troubled waters of State-affairs) introduced several exercises, Laws and Governments according to the peoples capacity, and their own peculiar fancies, and by sundry orders and uses did execute them. Which variety of Government hath ministered matter of great controversie and contrariety of opinion; Insomuch, that the Learned, as well in our, as forrain Schools and Universities, have assumed the disputation of the several sorts of Commonweals, and confined them to a certain number; besides, they have manifested which of them deserve the greatest commendation, and ought to be embraced. *Plato* and *Aristotle* seem to excell all persons that ever wrote on this Subject: For they with solid judgement, and great respect to the nature of men, and the temperature of the Region or Climate, have discreetly appointed Laws and Governments suitable to the disposition and temper of the Inhabitants: therefore according to the opinion of these two famous Philosophers, we will discourse
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of three sorts of Republicks : The first is called, *Monarchia* ; The second, *Aristocratia* ; And the third, *Democratia* ; which the Latines term, *Regnum, Optimatum Principatus, & Popularis Respublica*. The Supreme Governour of all things, by his Providence divine, hath so ordered, that the faculties or powers of man's mind should reside in three parts of his body, representing thereby three *Idea's* or Forms of Republicks ; constituting Reason as sole Monarch, or Lord Paramount of them all, to remain in the head, being the highest part. The second part, as most vigilant and apt to obey, he hath placed near unto it, in the breast, creating it a companion and helper to the head ; which *Plato* calls, *Kim irascendi*, or *affectuum sedem*. The third, resembling a rude multitude, witless, froward, and full of sensual desires, harbours beneath the heart, far remote from the other. In these parts of the soul, as in a Mirrour or Looking-glass, we may spy out three sorts of Commonweals. The highest supplies the place of King, as destined and appointed to exercise authority over all. The second, though in place inferiour, yet in quality is of no less regard, being well obeyed : for, where Reason sways without the aid and assistance

assistance of the affections, all actions are weak and impotent. Just so a Senate wanting the assistance of Reason, which deports her self partly as Captain, partly as a Soldier in all actions and consultations, becomes timorous and effeminate. *Aristotle* hath therefore made a division of the power of Reason, making one part absolute and standing upon its own Guard, and the other, as it were, depending and subservient, like a Son that obeyeth the Father. Which *Titus Livius* hath significantly expressed, in setting forth the error of *Minutius* in his unadvised fight against *Hannibal*, which *Fabius* reprehends in these or the like words: *Souldiers* (saith he) *I have often heard, that he that of himself can rightly judge, deserves the greatest commendation: next unto him are they, that know how to subscribe to the good advice of others: But he that can neither counsel, nor follow the counsel of others, is but an inch on this side a Natural, and of a very shallow capacity.* The third part of man's mind resembles a Popular Government, wherein the multitude hath authority to hear all causes, and determine or decide all controversies, though many contests arise from hence to the prejudice both of the Country and Inhabitants.

Aristotle

Aristotle writes also, that the Image or representation of Republicks may be found out in private families; for the authority of the Father over his Children may be compared to Principality; because Children are the Parents charge; he alone must provide for them all, and their faults are chastised, rather than severely punished by him; so ought a good King to demean himself toward his good Subjects. Therefore *Jupiter*, the God of Gods and Men, is by *Homer* styled Father. The Husbands authority over the Wife may be compared to *Optimacie*; for the Husband ought to rule his Wife according to Justice, and command nothing but what may endure the test of the Laws of God and man. The State Popular is assimilated to brotherly Society; for they ought to live in equality, differing only in the degrees of Age. And as the Father that useth rigour and cruelty towards his Children, is judged a Tyrant, and no Father; so that King, that by the oppression of the Subject endeavours to encrease his private interest, contemning all Laws, and living dishonourably, puts off his Kingdom, and is called Tyrant. A Husband and Wife living in discord, either through negligence, or obstinacy, rejecting

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the care of their Children, and domestick affairs, do thereby abuse their authority, and become unworthy the name of natural Parents ; so *Optimacie* abused, deserves not that title. In like manner Brethren disagreeing, neglecting their mutual profit, addicting themselves to sloath and lasciviousness, are not to be accounted Brethren ; no more is a Popular State so to be esteemed, if of such a temper. Thus it is apparent, that through the default and inconsiderateness of Superiors, true Commonweals are converted into false and contrary Governments. Policy, which by the *Grazians* is called, *πολιτεία*, and by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, *Respublica popularis*, may be referred to all sorts of Republicks ; because that word is universal, and includes all civil Government. *Plato* adds another kind of Government, that is, a King subject to his Laws ; making Monarchy of two sorts, and consequently two Kings ; the one bound and confined, the other free, and not restrained to any Law : this is his opinion of Monarchy, though not ours.

But now let us discourse of the best sort of Republicks, though it be a very hard task : to the accomplishment of which intended work, it is requisite that a man
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understand the best kind and order of life; for otherwise a perfect Commonwealth cannot be conceived: but what sort of life merits the reputation of the best, as yet *latet in obscuro* among the major part of Philosophers. The Epicures, Stoicks and Peripateticks are of different opinions concerning this subject, and have divided the world by the variety of their Sects and whimsies. But our intent is to concur with the Peripateticks, because their Schools have been the greatest Nurseries of good Governours. The Stoicks, that did ever wed themselves to an austere life, ground their felicity upon Vertue only; which we disapprove not, so that they consent, that external goods, which both Nature and Fortune have made for the use of man, to the end he may thereby be the better accommodated, be joyned thereunto as necessary additaments; otherwise he cannot be perfect: and seeing that man's felicity is numbred among things that are perfect, and that thing is only perfect that wants nothing; surely, whosoever desires to be happy, must necessarily be fully furnished, so that his felicity may be absolute, and no way deficient. Riches are very necessary; the liberal person stands in need of money to perform the

actions of Liberality, and the just man must therewith reward and make satisfaction. The Warriour wants it; for according to the Poet,

Ἀργυρίαις λῶσται μάχῃ, καὶ πάντα κρατήσῃ.

Argentis pugna telis, ac omnia vinces.

Now the Epicure, he placeth his *summum bonum* in sensual delights and pleasures; which is more becoming a beast, than a man. Whereas *Aristotle* makes a joynt agreement of Vertue, and other additional ornaments, or external helps, most necessary for a well-regulated person.

Philosophers affirm, that there are three sorts of life: The first, consisteth in Action; The second, in Contemplation; And the third, in Pleasure. That which resteth in Action, if not accompanied with wisdom and vertue, proveth unprofitable, and is subject to many vices and imperfections. That which is employed in Contemplation, not being accompanied with Action, is vain and ineffectual. For, as he that boldly looks upon the Sun when in the Meridian of his lustre, is made blind with his vehement heat and tralucient splendor: so the mind of man, continually occupied
with

with the speculation of sublime mysteries, becomes stupid, heavy, and languishing. He therefore that desires the name of virtuous, must lead a civil as well as a philosophical, an active as well as a contemplative life; the mixture of which two, makes man happy and fortunate. But he that delights only in sensuality, absolutely forgetting that he was ever qualified with the gift of reason, may be said to represent man, as to his outward complexion or blush; but he wants the true and proper nature of man.

Hence ariseth the diversity of mankind; for some are born free, noble, wise, and fit for government; others, servile, boorish, witless, destined to servitude and bondage. *Plato* hath it, that God in Man's Creation had so ordered, that in the generation of those that are apt to govern, he hath mixed gold; of them that are appointed as assistant to Governours, silver; And the nature of Plough-men and Artizans is compounded with Brass and Iron: which similitude *Aristotle* applies to the manners and capacities of men. For, although every man doth naturally desire that his children should resemble him; yet it often happens, that silver is the issue of gold, and some

metal of a more inferiour allay, the issue of silver. It is therefore very requisite, that Princes pry into the nature of their Children, that they may understand their disposition; and they that are like Iron may be converted into gold; or that proving impossible, the government may be allotted to others: for it hath been oraculously prophesied, that those Countries that are governed by Brasse and Iron, should perish and come to confusion.

But now as to *Optimacie*, it consists in a certain number of vertuous Citizens (or at least should) because they govern the Republick according to the Rules and Edicts of the Law; whereas in popular States all things are contrarily managed: for Liberty being the end thereof, the State is ruled according to will and popular fury, without the consideration of vertue or reason. In such Cities, men are called good, because they are profitable or beneficial to the Commonwealth, not for their being endowed with honesty, which consists in the action of vertue; so that vertue there is measured by publike profit, not honesty; for Popular Justice, called *Jus popolare*, is where honour is conferred upon persons, not according to the vertue of him
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that receiveth, but the number of those that give it; who think those things to be most equitable, that are so according to the Vogue of the multitude, not as Justice instructs us; and that to be honourable, which hath the repute of popular fame, or approbation of the Multitude. And though it must necessarily be granted, that there is corruption in all Republicks; yet is it frequently known in Popular States, and that more than in any other kind of Government: for if any man well-principled chance to have his residence or abode in any such State, and he out of natural reason only disgust the Plebeian insolency, and by admonition, reprehension and correction strives to reduce the Citizens or Inhabitants to a more vertuous and religious course of life, he is instantly branded with the name of an enemy to the State, and arrested by the Law of *Ostracisme*; and many times it falls out, that he comes to execution. Many famous Citizens of the popular States of Greece were hereby afflicted, as *Aristides*, *Thucydides*, *Socrates*, *Themistocles* and *Damon*; and at Rome, *Camillus* and *Scipio* had the same measure dealt them. *Aristides* deserves a monument that may endure to perpetuity, for his singular vertue

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and wisdom, who for his integrity of life and conversation, was surnamed *Justus*. And at that time when the Law of *Ostracisme* was in force among the Athenians, a rude, boorish, beef-brain'd fellow, with a scrole of paper in his hand, chanced to meet him, who with much importunacy would have forced him to write his name therein. *Aristides* being astonished at his earnest and strange request; asked him, *Whether any man could ever say he had injured any person?* No, (replied the fellow) *all the reason that prompts me to my demand, is only this, I stomach your Sirname, Justus.* It is reported by *Cicero*, that the *Ephesi*, at the banishment of their Prince, *Hermodorus*, pronounced this Sentence: *Let us not excel one another; and if any do contrary to what is herein specified or mentioned, he shall no longer reside among us, but must procure some other dwelling place.* Strange Customs of Popular States! *Plato* (as we have already instanced) saith, *That no State can be long liv'd that is governed by Iron or Brass;* that is, by phanatick or infatuated persons; who being altogether unfit for Government, seem to be born to disturb, rather than obey. For they, after some petty or imaginary success at war, growing insolent and tympanous, have
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alwaies some flattering Tutors, and collo-
quing popular Captains to extol their Ver-
tues, ready at hand ; who immediately up-
on this allured, or rather caught with the
golden bait of glory, reject the authority
of their wise governours, rebelling against
their Superiours, and so usurping their
lawful power, take it into their hands, and
manage it according to their own corrupt
wills and depraved judgements ; which is
the cause that such States soon expire, and
that oftentimes in their very infancy : for
through the diversity of minds and opini-
ons among them, they become void of
counsel ; and after a continued series (if it
last any considerable time) of insolency,
contention and faction, they become sub-
missive either to a few, or else to some sin-
gle person. Thus did the Athenians, who
having obtained the victory in a memora-
ble Sea-fight against the *Medes*, bladder'd
up with pride from their success herein,
it caused sedition and tumultuation in
that State, notwithstanding the contrary
endeavours of the more sober to prevent it.
Nay, the original of States Popular some-
times ariseth from rebellion attempted a-
gainst the Royal Party, as it frequently
happened at *Rome* : and at other times it
falls

falls out, when the people through tyranny are exasperated, and made desperate by the rigour of their Princes or Governours; for then by force of arms against their King, they begin to mould a new-fashioned Government among themselves; which the *Swisses*, not many years since, have done. As to Oligarchy or Tyranny, we shall not extend our discourse, but pass them by, because we judge such kind of Government to be altogether unjust, insupportable, and quite contrary to a vertuous and civill life.

Now, as to the discovery of the most notable and imitable Commonweals and Kingdoms in the habitable World, that shall be the subject of our ensuing Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Wherein is contained the various Forms of the most memorable and famous Commonweals and Kingdoms in the World.

THe excellency and pre-eminency of every Nation or Republick may easily be understood by the Government and
Laws

Laws therein practised and exercised: for those are judged the best, that direct the course of their life according to justice and equity, and not the peculiar whimsies of their own natural fancy; and constantly persevere therein, without so much as the appearance of change or variation: it is an apparent and clear argument of female frailty, far derogating from the dignity of Man, to be so fickle and inconstant, as to seek after variety; but to be fix'd and grounded, is an argument of a noble resolution.

And first, as for the Commonwealth of *Plato*, we shall pass that by, because it is usually said, that such a Government as his, neither is, hath been, nor shall be hereafter.

The Athenian Republick was first made as followeth: That People being dispersed, and haunting the woods and fields like brute Animals, were first by *Cecrops*, and after by *Theseus* confined to a City, which was then called *Cecropia*, now *Athens*, and at length reduced to a Kingdom, descendable to their Posterity. But what authority the Senate had under those Kings (which order did represent the *Optimacie*) cannot be manifested or apparently known, by reason

reason of the length of time, and multitude of years since elapsed, as also the paucity of those Writers that have any waies discoursed thereon. Yet we must believe, that Kings had in those daies their Sages or Wisemen about them, and made use of their counsel in the management of their political affairs. The Kings of that Age (as *Thucydides* writes) did rule by consent of People, and with their suffrages did many times determine those things whereof they themselves were doubtful. Yet that Government was of short continuance; for, in tract of time (which altereth all things) it was committed to the multitude, whose force and power did utterly subvert the Commonwealth.

The Lacedæmonian State seemed to contain all the three sorts of Government, viz. King, Nobles, and People; the Nobles were their Senators, and the People were the *Ephori*; for they were alwaies elected out of the number of popular men. Now the Lacedæmonians are very much extolled, in that for the space of seven hundred years compleat, they have continued without any alteration of their Laws, Customs, or Government. But the Venetians in that respect may challenge a greater portion

tion of glory, for they have till this very present Age of ours constantly lived under one Form of Government and Governours the space of one thousand years, and better.

Now the Venetians in framing their Republick, do include within the name of People, Gentlemen and Citizens; being very careful to oppose any other, if he presume or dare usurp that title, because they only are capable of Magistracy. The Senate is chosen out of that number that represents an *Optimacie*, and is the foundation, as it were, of that State. The Duke is elected out of that number that resemble Kings.

Polybius doth very much extol the Roman Monarchy, because it was made up of the King, Nobility and People; supposing that by this means the King for fear of the People durst not become insolent; and the People, out of respect to the Senate, durst not disobey the King. Which Form of Republick is accounted most just. For as perfect harmony is made up of Treble, Mean, and Base; so the best and surest agreement among men, and the most stable Government, is established by the mixture of the Best, the Mean, and the Base people.

Romulus (saith *Livy*) being (as we have
already

already mentioned) by consent both of God and men elected King, though the State was then but an *Embryo*, refused to have the reins of Government lie altogether upon his own shoulders, and did therefore call unto his assistance one hundred Senators, who out of respect to their Age and Gravity, were called Fathers. And lest the People should suppose that they were hereby deluded, misled, and defrauded of all honour, and thereby envy and malignity might ensue, to the prejudice of the King or Senate; He made them Judges, and gave them full power and authority to sit and determine War, and conclude peace, with many other priviledges thereunto annexed. And if this model of Government had still continued in *Rome*, there had not been so great an effusion of blood in aspiring after Liberty and enlarging the Territories of the Roman Empire; Nor had the happiness of that Country been shaken with so many seditions, which did at length work her ruine and desolation: for she was observed to be very little acquainted with peace all the time she stood upon her own legs, ever since she was able to go alone.

But now let us take the Governments of
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our Age into consideration; and first, of the French Monarchy; which owns a King, who rules *ad placitum*, at his own discretion: and although his authority come not under the lash of the Law, yet like an honourable and just Prince, he acts nothing contrary to Law, or Honour. In his Kingdom, the Noblemen, which they call Peers, represent an *Optimacie*: the People are divided into three sorts; Gentlemen, Clergymen, and the popular Multitude; and a choice number of these three assembled together by the Kings Edict or Command, determine matters of greatest importance in the Kingdom. This Council was anciently called *Pancelgium*, as the *Ætolians* named theirs *Panætolium*, and the universal Council of the Ionians was termed *Pantonium*; though since, as we have already hinted, by reason of the English wars there, the King got all authority into his own hands, so that his word carries as much force and validity with it, as the former acts of Parliament, which were their three Estates conven'd and met together.

As for the Spanish Monarchy, the King there hath Sovereign authority and power; the Council-Royal represents an *Optimacie*; and the three prime Orders of Knighthood may

may be compared to the popular State. For the Order of St *Jago*, *Collatrava*, and *Alcantara*, assembled with the King, decide the most important State-controversies and affairs.

The Monarchy of *Polonia* consists likewise of these three sorts, *i. e.* The King, Nobility and People; but it is to be noted, that this word People here, denotes only Knights and Gentlemen. The Union and Fellowship of these orders is so admirable, that the King without the advice of his Council and their authority, can do nothing; nor can the Council determine without the King's approbation, and the Peoples consent. In this Kingdom, the Laws are of so great force, that every man religiously swears to keep and observe them; and if any person act contrary to that Oath, he is accounted unjust and impious. Now that Oath by which they swear to be strict in the observance of their Laws and Liberty, is in their vernacular language called, *Captue*; which is as much as *Tegmen capitis* in Latine: for, as the head is kept in health, and preserved from the injury of the nipping weather, by being covered; so by vertue of that Oath, their Laws, Lives, and Liberties are conserved; and to main-
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tain it, no man is so fearful, as not to venture his life against Tyrants, and all such as endeavour to cut the wings of publick Liberty and Happiness. This people enjoy great freedom; being principled with this persuasion, that to live according to the direction of the Law, is the most absolute Liberty in the World. In this Kingdom, the Prince follows not the *dictamen* of his own will and fancy, but sticks close to the Rule of the Law. In waging war, or concluding peace, he makes use of his Council; never transgressing Law: which works this effect, that the Kings person is not only honoured among the people, but had in high reverence and estimation; so that he may be said to be adored, rather than obeyed. And who indeed is there, that would not entirely love, honour, respect, and reverence that Prince, that in governing steers himself by the *Cynosure* of the Law, contented to be led by the Line of reason, directing himself in all his undertakings, according to the prudent and grave advice of his Senators? Authority thus used, creates a general love, liking and consent among the Subjects. To conclude, the King of *Polonia* seems such a Prince, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, and other Legislators have desired to bear sway

in all well-regulated Commonweals and Kingdoms, and such as both God and Nature approve. The Senate here bears the Image of *Optimacy*, and hath much power and authority; for they being chosen out of the wiser sort of Nobles, they only, I say, consult with the King about State-affairs. Their authority is not unlike the *Homotimi* of *Persia*, or the *Ephori* of *Lacedemonia*. The Gentlemen of *Polonia* resemble the Popular State; for on them is imposed a great part of the Government, and may be said to be as a Seminary from whence issue both Counsellors and Kings.

The Empire of *Germany* consists of the Emperour, Princes, and People; which being governed by divers Potentates, and their policy being scattered into sundry Governments, comes not easily within the reach of a concise description.

The quondam Kingdom of *Britain*, now called *England*, obeyeth one King, who electeth Senators, unto whom the residue of Nobles, and some of the Popular Order being joyned, make one Common Council, which is called in our *Idiom*, a Parliament. But native modesty forbids us to proceed any farther upon this subject; whose *Encomia's* we judge to be a Theme far

far more suitable to a forrain Pen.

One difficulty there remains still, the resolution whereof we have reserved for the close of this Chapter; and that is this, What a Citizen is, which we have so much all along discoursed of. To which we answer:

That this word Citizen hath had several acceptations among Writers. Some have called the whole number of Inhabitants by the name of Citizens. Others, only those that are descended of Noble and free-born Citizens. Some call them Citizens whose Fathers were free-born within the City; Others would have them to fetch their Pedigree more remote, from their ancient Grandfathers. And some are of opinion, that forrainers received into the Society of Citizens, and naturalized, or Denizen'd, deserve the name of Citizens. *Aristotle* terms them Citizens, that are capable of publick Offices in State, and are descended of free and honest Parentage. In popular States, all they are usually called Citizens that dwell in the City, as well Poor, as Rich; Bad, as Good; none being Bondmen; for every one is capable of Government, because there is an universal parity among them. Of this nature was the

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Athenian Commonwealth (before spoken of) so long as it was subject to Popular Government ; and the Cantons of Switzerland steer the same course even to this very Day. And divers Cities in *Germany* there are, called free ; where the Inhabitants live popularly, secluded from Gentlemen, and noble Citizens. In an Oligarchy, because men are most respected for their revenues and substance, they that are most rich are reputed Citizens, though they are dishonourable, because careless of all virtue ; and make it their whole study to be rich *Quo jure, quaque injuria*, by hook or by crook (as we say) right or wrong, no matter which way they obtain it ; to the end that they may come to dignity and preferment, not as wise and vertuous, but as rich and wealthy persons.

Among the Romans, there were several sorts of Citizens ; Some were called *Municipes*, some *Coloni*, and others *Latini* ; every one of them retaining those conditions that were allotted them by the people of *Rome*. Some whereof were free, some Confederate, and some Stipendiary. Some were created Citizens *pleno jure*, which was by voice ; and they were thought worthy of all honours ; Others, *jure honorario*, which

which were of the number of those that were admitted into the the City without the suffrage of the people; and they were *honoris gratia* called Citizens, as the *Campani*, and *Equites*. He likewise was counted a Citizen of *Rome*, whose name was written in the Book of the Censors, and was an House-keeper. By all which it is perspicuous and evident, that in all Republicks they were properly called Citizens that could plead a right to Office, and could give suffrage in the State; whereas he that wants these priviledges, is rather to be called Inhabitant, or Client, than Citizen. In Monarchies and Aristocracies those are Citizens that are vertuous. In the latter, good and vertuous men only govern; in the former, one alone, that for Bounty, Liberality, and Magnificency excels all others. Those people which are naturally Slaves, or wickedly debauched, do for the most part obey Tyrants, and that Government is called *Imperium despoticum*: Yet are not all they to be judged Slaves, that are encumbered with the power and oppression of Tyrants, if they be not withall base minded and vicious. For we read of many Citizens that have freed themselves and their Country from servitude, by slaying or expelling

the Tyrants; and if they found their expectations were herein frustrated, they chose rather to lose their lives than their Liberty, as *Brutus* and *Cato* did, with many other Romans. Thus we have given the description and division of the ancient States Popular, Republicks and Kingdoms; in the next Chapter we shall demonstrate the new models of Government set up by the rebellious since the late unhappy wars between King and Parliament.

CHAP. IV.

The new-fangled Model of Modern Policy, being of three sorts; a Protectordom, a Committeedom, and a Rumpdom; and first, of the Protectordom.

AS for that hellish monster, that damnable Machiavilian that first gave rise to this same strange and unheard-of Government; we shall say nothing tending either to his Parentage, Birth, or Education, because we have reserved that as a subject for another entire peece; only, that he might be said to be a man of blouds, in the plural number, as *Zipporah* said to her Husband

band *Moses*: Who butcher-like made cruelty his profession, and was never better than when he had his Sword sheathed in his Country-mens bowels; so that we may affirm, what succeeding Ages will unquestionably maintain:

—*Dicat de Tygride natum*
Posteritas-----

An audacious Rebel, that durst aspire from the mean condition of a private person, to the Throne, though he first wash'd his hands in the blood of his Sovereign! He represented the real Tragedy of a King and no King; whose mouth water'd after that Title, but that he durst not assume it, being he had fought so long against it, and was sworn to the deposition of all Kingship for the future.

He, to raise himself on the top of the Pyramid of honour, trampled over the heads of the most Loyal Subjects of the Realm; made a foot-ball of a Crown, and endeavoured utterly to extirpate the Royal Progeny, Root and Kind, Stem and Stock: Nay, I will be bold to say, if that an innocent Babe had been born with *Vive le Roy* in his mouth, he must have been food for his

Sword, as well as the first-born were for *Herods*. It is credibly reported, that *Hugh Peters*, that spiritual Dragoon, and *Nol*, hatch'd this Government as they were walking together in a field : a brace of pious Devils ! They would carry the outward shew of sanctity, whenas all their actions proclaim'd them diabolical. There was never so furious an Incendiary, as this pious Pulpit-cuffer ; nor no *Machiavel* more apt to receive the impression of infernal Counsel, who would sacrifice both soul and body to accomplish his own ends, or promote his self-interest. The whole Nation was enchained in a more than *Ægyptian* Bondage ; who were compelled to submit to this Tyrant *Nol*, or be cut off by him ; nothing but a word and a blow, his will was his Law ; tell him of *Magna Charta*, he would lay his hand on his sword, and cry *Magna Farta* : No Liberty was granted to the Subject, unless it were that of Conscience ; and that too was denied the more Orthodox and Loyal Party. The People were rob'd of all Laws, Rights and Privileges, and sometimes of their Lives ; whilst he, like a Tyrant, insulted with a *Quis contradicet ?* The Citizens were so fleeced and pilled, that had this inhu-

inhumane barbarous wretch continued much longer, he had sent *London* into the Country a begging. To say *God save the King*, was a crime as black as any forbidden in the *Decalogue*: but so long as that was prohibited publikely and privately, it was in vain to cry out, *God speed the Plough*, or expect any blessing from the superiour power. His infernal plots and machinations had wrought the utter ruine and desolation of the Country, had not Providence divine cut him off, to the general benefit and rejoycing of the Nation. English ground groaned with the burthen of this inhumane Tyrant. It was not enough that the English should be scourged, but the whip must lye before them; it was not sufficient that he should be the Author of all their woes while living, but they must live subject to his Tyranny and oppression; and like so many mutes, condescend to all his actions by silence, not daring to mention the least dislike, though it thwarted their disposition never so much. He was a rod of their own making, and they were content to untruss whilest he whipt them. In vain it was for the most accurate wit to plead Reason or Law against the Sword: the Tongue is too weak a weapon for the Dagger.

Dagger. During the usurpation of this same hellish Tyrant, what a Chaos of confusion bespread the face of the whole Nation? How was all the Land benegroed with more than the Egyptian darkness of persecution? The whole Country was enveloped in clouds, and ruine hung over the heads of the people, by as slender a thread, as the Sword over the head of *Damocles* at the Banquet. The whole Land was enrombed in despair, and little or no hope of a resurrection, till a divine hand wrought it by his long-expected death: and it is the Cordial wish and hearty desire of the loyal Pen-man, that all his Majesties and the Kingdoms enemies were as stately interred as he was. Had he deserved an Epitaph, we would have stretch'd hard but our brain should have furnished him with one; but since he was so unworthy, we hold it as great a disparagement to our quill to bestow a Copy of Verses on him, as he was a grief and trouble to the Loyal Party of the Nation. And indeed, how can any Son of *Phœbus* employ his time so ill, as to salure his dead corpse with an Epitaph, that was so great an enemy to them when living; Who had a real design to extirpate all literature, and implunge us into as deep a gulph

gulf of ignorance and profaneness as the Turk is cast into ? he hated all Learning, and the Learned, because his crimes were so black and horrid that they went far beyond the mercy of the Book. He granted a toleration for all Religions, because his own was to choose ; and that he might not offend the tender Consciences of his pretended Zealots and Favourites, who were true Vassals to the Lust and Villany of such an imperious Ulurper. Honesty was so much out of fashion, that he that was virtuous was a Malefactor, and deserved death ; for Knavery was *à la mode* ; and you know the old Saying, *It is as good to be out of the World, as out of the Fashion.* An honest loyal Subject was as much hooted and pointed at, and judged as ridiculous an Object, as a Spanish *Don* in his Country Garb at *Paris*. An honest man was as strange a sight in *England*, as a Horse in *Venice*, or a Beggar in *Holland* ; and he was as like to be preferred to his favour, as a Spurrier was to *Queen Elizabeth*. But since he is in his grave, we will not rake up his ashes any farther : if he can find any rest there now dead, who living I am sure had little or none in his conscience ; (for he ever carried a civil War in his breast, of fears, suspicions and jealousies)

jealousies) he shall lie secure; for we intend to disturb him no farther.

After the death of this British Idoll, *Richard* the fourth his Son peep'd out; who had no fault so great, as that he had him to his Father; for it was generally believed, he would be but Tenant to the Right Landlord, or the *Stuaris* Steward, to set all things in order till he was restored. But alas! he prov'd but a fortnights wonder; no sooner up, but down; his deposition (if we may credit report) was the womanish plot of weeping *Fleetwoods* Lady; who stomach'd it that his preferment should be greater than her Husbands, though it prov'd to little purpose: & indeed, it is seldom known that female counsel ever arrives to any better success; nor is there any reason that the Distaff should be a companion for the Scepter. A Kitchen was a great deal more fit for her than a Throne, though she had ambition enough to perswade her self that she deserved the name of a Princess.

Yet had *Richard* been heir of his Fathers parts (though it was well he was not) he would soon have frustrated all their designs, and come to as much height and greatness: But he had not enough of the Rogue in his Composition, to make up a
damned

damned Politician. He was fitter to bear a Hawk on his Fist, than to hold a Scepter in his hand. A sedentary, retired, Country-life, was far more suitable to his temper and disposition, than a tumultuous City-life. He was altogether ignorant in that so much practised profession of piecing the Lion with the Foxes tail; which no doubt he might have done, had he been as well read in *Machiavil* as his Sire was. He was not much read in Politicks, as appears by the small term of time that was allotted him to play the Protector. But no matter, it was well it fell out so: he is like to fare the better for it, in the judgement of the most censorious. Besides, it was what suited with his phancy (according to relation) better than all the usurped power and authority of his Predecessor. *Exit Protector*, he was but like a Pageant, a King in a Play; he only appears upon the Stage, makes a leg, and takes his leave of you: but what comes next? The State-Gratescoes will soon resolve you, the business is already hatch'd; room for a Committreedom, which being the second branch of this tripartite Anarchy, challenges a place in the fifth Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Of a Committeedom.

WHen *Richard* (as the Major part of the Gentry do) had retired himself to his Country-house for a mouth-full of fresh Air, there starts up another kind of Government, hatch'd by a Committee of Safety; (of slavery, they meant) who were a rude rabble of Factious, Illiterate, Phanatick, Disloyal Rebels; a knot of *Knipperdolings*; of the same stamp with that German Botcher, *Jack-a-Leyden*: the very *merdaille* and excrementitious off-scouring of the Nation: during which time we might be said to be the true *Antipodes*; for the Shooe was placed above the Head: and the Nation troubled with such a State-Apoplexy, or Political Meagrim, that it would soon have reel'd to its destruction (being drunk with Rebellion) had not the Heavens made a restauration of our pristine Laws and ancient Liberty, by the re-establishment of our most gracious Sovereign, *Charles the Second*. Thus did they wheel about the Circumference of Government

vernment, till they hit upon the Center, viz. Monarchy. How like a senseless body did the Nation lie, during this strange unheard-of Government? Nor was it a wonder; for how can the Members live without their Head? Miserable and despicable was the condition of the Natives, so that they became ridiculous to their Neighbours; Law lay bleeding, and Justice run quite contrary to her Institution. Learning was of so small esteem and account, that it was thought an incumbrance and prejudice to him that could boast of it. Divinity was quite out of date; Churches were pulled down for Edification; To rob Cathedrals sacrilegiously, was Piety; The Temple was converted into a Stable; so that it might well be said, that Horse and Man serv'd God alike. The Pulpits were hung with blew Aprons, and *Cheapside* produced better Preachers than *Cambridge*. No Order nor *Decorum* in Gods house, but all things fluttishly handled; as if the Queen of Sciences, Divinity, must be cloathed in filthy rags. As if the Father of Languages understood no Language but English, the Latine and Greek Fathers must not be quoted, but were almost come to the Chandlers shops to make waste Paper.

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No Prayer but what was by the Spirit : Bold audacious Villains, that dare ascend the Pulpit, and there talk with God *ex tempore*. And indeed, most of these Spirit-mongers made moving Sermons : for not a man of understanding in the Church, but would go out before they had done. The Orthodox Clergy were dis-respected, calumniated, reviled, imprisoned, and executed, what not ? But why, or wherefore, no one knew : as squeamish as these Sectaries seemed to be, they could swallow down *fat* Benefices, and never disgorge them. The Steeple-Houses must down, they were superstitious businesses ; They say, their tender, I say, their large Consciences prompted them to these sacrilegious actions ; and all for the promoting of their own filthy lucre and self-interest ; which made them convert those Church-Utensils that were consecrated to Sacred uses, to their own benefit and profit. These foul fiends haunted sacred grounds most, not out of devotion, but gain ; Thus was it their dayly practice to learn to leap over Steeples : and whereas we used to say, *Lord encrease our Faith* ; we might then heartily cry out and say, *Lord decrease our Faiths* ; for we had then so many among us, that if a Jew or Pagan had come

to be converted among us, he would have found as much difference in the outward ceremony and preaching of the Word, as there is between our Tenets and theirs: Outward shew and ostentation had almost worm'd out the Substance of Religion. But this Cockatrice (thanks to Heaven) was crusht in the Shell; this prodigious birth prov'd abortive, almost as soon confounded as conceived. Had we suffered those Birds of prey to have been fledge (for they were but pin-feathered) it might have been said in our Proverb, that *we brought up Birds to pick out our own eyes*. But they were all soon got by Lowbelling; these silly Woodcocks were ensnared in a Gin laid by the Royal Party. Well may *Albion* acknowledge *St George* her Patron, since we have a Trinity of them to protect us; one *St George*, and a brace of *Sir Georges*. This Committee-Conventicle of *Cacodemons* was soon crackt and dissolved; which hapned very successfully, for else the whole Nation had soon come to its dissolution. If ever there was a Tower of *Babel*, sure it was here then; for what could be said of *England* more justly, than that it was a Land of Confusion? Now the Anabaptists strutted it *en cuerpo*; they domineered as if they had been sole

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Masters of the Universe: And had liberty to broach their damnable and erroneous opinions in all places without controule: *Six days shalt thou labour*, that part of the Commandment they allowed; and *the seventh thou shalt teach*, that was their own addition; at work all the week, and a preaching on Sundaies. Surely the leaven of these Pharisees must be very strong, that can work a Cöbler out of the Stall into the Pulpit; where you might see him thumb the Bible with his massiey fist, and begins to pitch on a portion of Scripture, though he begin at the wrong end of the Book; and then like a Fugitive, runs away from the Text (and how can he do otherwise? for he is beside the Last.) *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, was an ancient Proverb; but they neglected all antiquity so much, that they pulled down all Churches whose outside pronounced them ancient, and crept in holes and corners; which is enough to evince that they can never be registred *inter Angelos*, who were found so often *in Angulis*: but their deeds of darkness required such dark corners, who if they had appeared in the Light, had soon manifested their imbecility and villany: But now we may in the Juglers Dialect say, *Preslo! Jack Lambert*

Lambert and his Legion of *Hobgoblins* are vanished; *Ingoldsby* routed his Forces, and secured his Person; where now in the Tower he hath so much liberty (though confined) as to sing a *Palinode* for his fore-past misdemeanors, if he have but the grace to do so: his hellish crew may wait for his deliverance by an Angel, as long as the Turks did for the Resurrection of their *Mahomet*, and find themselves at length miserably deluded. All which may afford them matter of repentance, if they have but the knowledge to make a spiritual improvement of so gracious an opportunity. But as their reign was short and of small continuance, so will we be, suiting the discourse to the matter discoursed on, and come to the third sort of this new-fangled Government, which will take up the last Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Rumpdom.

THe Subject of this discourse being concerning the Rump, we thought fit to place it in the Buttock of our Book, that

so we may come to an end by discoursing of an End, a Fag-end of Parliament, the Rump. It is credibly reported, that noble *Brown* was their Godfather, and bestowed this name upon these Arse-worms; which proves him to be as good a *Nomenclator* as *Adam*, who gave names according to the nature of the Beasts that came before him; and so did he; which was, and will continue to be a brand upon them (notwithstanding the Vote that past in the House for a fifty pound forfeiture on every person that should call them by that name) and their posterity, so long as the Sun and Moon endures. Had he searched all the Dictionaries that ever were extant, he could never have found out a term more suitable for them. Had these beasts been to enter the Ark, it would have puzzled *Noah* himself to have suited them into pairs.

This Rump was made up of a Rabble of rude, illiterate, rebellious fellows; a heap or cluster of Mechanicks; that intended to reduce the Nation to as much slavery and servility, as they themselves were born to. And first of all, let us nip *Heslrig*; that wide-mouth'd fellow, that could swallow down Church and Bishops Lands without any scruple or conscience: so furious a Villain,

lain, that he was able to set a whole Kingdom in combustion : One, that would have made a Bonfire of the City, so that he might but have warm'd his hands thereby, rather than fail. So horrible a Mammonist, that he was resolved to cram his Coffers, though he starved his Conscience : so that Lord have mercy upon rich Sir A. Heslrig a sinner, might have been the sum of his Letany.

Desborow, that bloody beef-brain'd wretch falls under our description next ; who was a State Hay-gee-bo, or Carter ; and never shall come to the honour to be Waggoner to Charles his Wain ; who still thought, when he sate in the Parliament, that he was whistling to the Country Teem ; and therefore alwaies endeavoured to ride the Citizens, and make Asses of them. But indeed, to speak truth, we cannot much blame the Man ; for he was ever so much used to the Whip, that he must still be lashing wherever he came. Yet one would have thought he might have spit in his hand and took better hold ; for now his Whip may prove like a Rod for his own Breech : But no matter, every School-boy could have told him, that the Rump used to pay for all faults ; And he might have remembered that we have a Proverb runs thus, *The Pot goes not so often*

often to the water, but it comes broke home at last; which no doubt he will soon be made sensible of. But I am weary with whistling to this Brawny Boor.

Enter *Scot*: his very name implies treachery; *As treacherous as a Scot*, is old, though true; and may be appliable to him; for they are as true Types one of the other, as the Dragon of the Devil. A bitter enemy to Kingship he was, and one that had the impudence to affirm publikely (so report informs me) that he was one of the chiefest that sate in the Highest Court of Injustice for the executing of *Charles* the first; and were it to do again, he would be as ready upon that design as ever. Sure he was some kin to a Tinker, he proves himself such a man of metal.

Surge Harry Martin; shew thy smock-face: well might he be a Rumper, he delighted so much in the Tail. A lewd dissolute fellow; fitter to walk before a party of Whores, than to lead up a Regiment of Horse. This is one of that sanctified Crew, that would procure any business to be done, if a female, from whom he might but expect a kindness, put up the Petition. But he was once handsomly fitted by a handsome Girl; which action made the name of Trepan

pan first known in *England*: His lustful desire, though unaccomplished, cost two hundred pounds in sawce; only they were so civil to bestow a dinner of him, inviting some other of the Members of this mock-Parliament, only to divulge the frolick. Henceforth, *Harry*, take this advice as from a friend, Beware of all such costly petitions, if ever it be thy hap to prefer any more.

But to dwell upon particulars thus, would require a Volume : I must hasten, since I am come to the end. Thus did *Nol* and the Rump play at Nose in a——with the Nation, intending (as it is thought) to stink the People out of their dominions, and to remain with their Confederates Lords of Great *Britain*. As for the Rumpers, they provided a Scavenger to sweep *London*-streets; and he hath swept them away, and made the house clean for more deserving Persons. I wonder what benefit did ever accrew to the Nation by their Acts and Ordinances; or when did they ever attempt any thing, but, Tinker-wise, in mending one hole they made three? All their consultations tended only to their own preferment. A knot of gnawing Vermin, that fed upon the fat of the Land; A Company of Book-worms, who, because ignorant

rant themselves, were resolved to destroy all Learning, and implunge the People into an Abyss of Brutishness and Barbarism: and make them subscribe to, and approve of whatsoever their dunghil spirits prompted them to. But I must draw to a period. This New-fangled Model you have under the notion of *Modern Policy* (though it is a favour to call it so) for *Rebellion* it should be; but I was unwilling to front my Page with so formidable a Title. For the Nation hath been too too long sensible of the heavy effects of Rebellion; which have lighted somewhat hard upon their shoulders. The latter part of this Piece, I confess, differs from the former, as much as *Heraclitus* from *Democritus*; yet it is no offence, I presume, (if I may be thought a sufficient Apothecary) to put a scruple of mirth into a dose of seriousness; wherefore I shall conclude with what I ever made my Motto,

— *Non seria semper.*

FINIS.

